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**THE PROPYLAEA OF THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS
SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
THEIR DECAY AND RESTORATION**

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THE PROPYLAEA OF THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS SINCE THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THEIR DECAY AND RESTORATION

by Tasos Tanoulas

The Propylaea were built in the 5th century B. C. as a part of the project which rendered the Acropolis the symbol of the culmination of the classical culture. The Parthenon, the Erechtheion and the Temple of Athena Nike are the other elements

Sources of illustrations: Figs. 1—4. 26. 27. 29. 30. 36: drawings by the author. — Figs. 5—7. 9—12. 20. 21: Omont, *Athènes* pls. 29; 31 a. b; 36 a. b; 45 a. b; 38 a; 42 a. — Fig. 8: Paton, *The Erechtheum* fig. 216. — Figs. 13. 14. 56. 76. 78: photographs by the author. — Figs. 17. 18. 57. 71: Paris, *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts*, neg. nos: D2052. D2076. D2081. D2044. — Figs. 19. 70. 72. 79. 80: H. d'Espouy—G. Seure, *Monuments antiques relevés et restaurés par les architectes pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome* (n. d.) pls. 24 b. 23 a. 25 b. 20. 19 b. — Figs. 31. 33. 35: Stuart—Revett II 5.3; chap. 5 pl. 1. — Figs. 55. 54: Stuart—Revett² II pl. 2; Supplementary, *Antiquities of Athens and Delos* pl. 1. — Figs. 32. 34: Le Roy II pls. 3. 6. — Figs. 37. 38: London; Royal Institute of British Architects, Drawings Collection, Printed Catalogue S, Smirke, S. R. (104) pls. 4. 7. — Fig. 42: E. Dodwell, *Views in Greece from drawings* (1821) pl. 7. — Figs. 51. 52: L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople* (1825) pls. 19. 23. — Fig. 53: J. Thürmer, *Ansichten von Athen* (1823) pl. 13. — Fig. 58: W. M. Leake, *The Topography of Athens with some remarks on its Antiquity* (1821) 172. — Fig. 59: Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* fig. 138. — Figs. 60. 63. 64. 68: London, Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, neg. nos 327/7 (26 a). 5 (9). 12 (10 a). 7 (24 a). — Fig. 61: Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, Inv. No. 4299. — Fig. 62: Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, on loan to the Museum of the City of Athens. — Fig. 69: Gennadius Library GT 2013q, Album of photographs labelled *Souvenir d'Orient* (ca. 1855), 8th sheet. — Figs. 73. 74: H. Beck, *Vues d'Athènes et de ses monuments, photographiés d'après nature* (1868) pls. 22.9. — Figs. 75. 77: G. Fougères, *Athènes* (1914) 55. 161.

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This study has been awarded an MA degree in Conservation Studies of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies of the University of York, England. I would like to acknowledge here my debt to the unforgettable J. Travlos for the valuable knowledge I gained by working near him and also for his advice on the study of the Propylaea during the Middle Ages; without my familiarity with that subject it would have been impossible to carry out the present study in the restricted time limits of the school terms; I would like also to express my gratitude to Professor Ch. Bouras for his help throughout my studies and my present investigations, and to the National Trust for Greece for the scholarship which allowed me to attend the Conservation courses and bring this study to an end. I would like also to give my thanks to Dr. Derek Linstrum and Stuart Suttcliffe for their help and encouraging interest in this study, and my full appreciation to B. F. Cook, for allowing me to use the resources of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum.

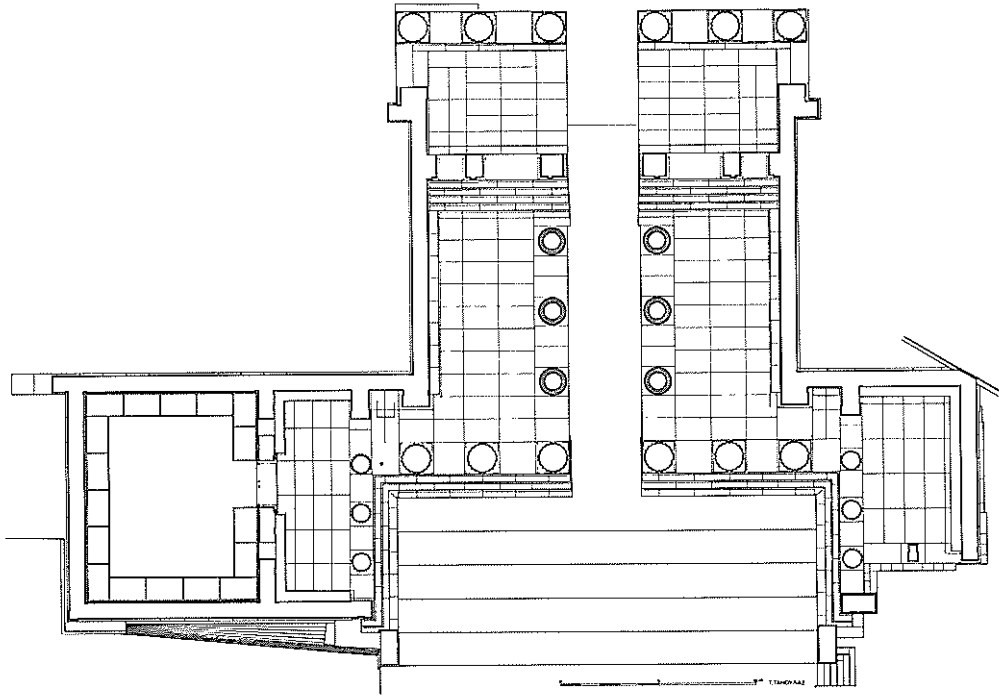


Fig. 1. The Propylaea in classical times, plan. Reconstruction by the author, 1985

of the same scheme. The Propylaea were built by the architect Mnesicles, between 437 and 432 B. C., but they were never finished and the opinions on Mnesicles'

Besides the abbreviations according to the AA 1985, 757–764 and the Archäologische Bibliographie 1985, the following ones will be found in this study:

Cavvadias–Kawerau = P. Cavvadias–G. Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890* (1907)

Fanelli = F. Fanelli, *Atene Attica Descritte da Suoi Principii sino all'acquisto fatto dall'Armi Venete nel 1687* (1707)

Kokkou = A. Kokkou, *Ἡ μέριμνα γιὰ τὶς ἀρχαιότητες στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μουσεῖα* (1977)

Laborde = L. Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (1854)

Le Roy = J. D. Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758)

Omont, Athènes = H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e siècle* (1898)

Paris–Rome–Athènes = Paris–Rome–Athènes, *Le voyage en Grèce des architectes français aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles* (1982); catalogue of an exhibition with the same title published by the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts of Paris

Paton, The Erechtheum = L. D. Caskey–H. N. Fowler–J. M. Paton–G. Ph. Stevens, *The Erechtheum* (1927) 423–645

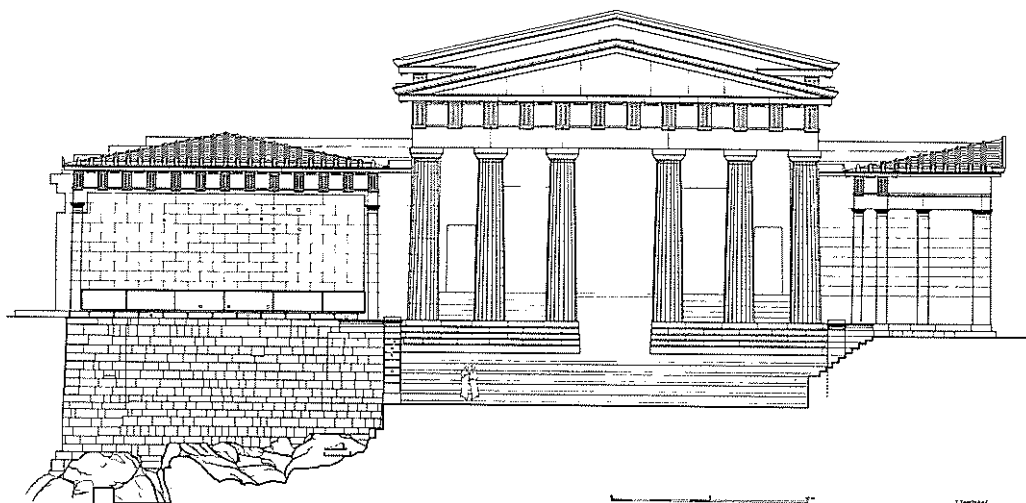
Paton, Visitors = J. M. Paton, *Chapters on Medieval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands* (1951)

Spon = J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, II (1678)

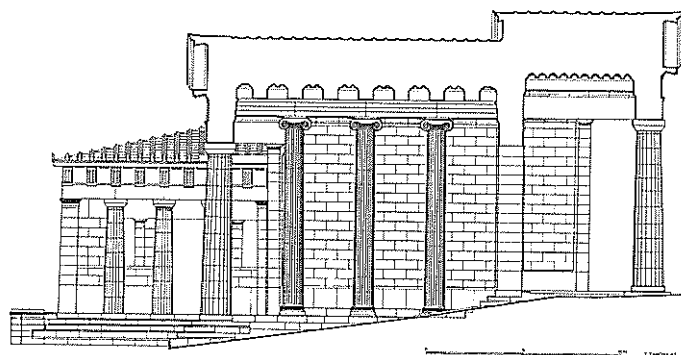
Stuart–Revett = J. Stuart–N. Revett, *The antiquities of Athens* (1762–1816); ²(1825–1830)

Travlos, Πολεοδομική = I. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (1960)

Wheler = G. Wheler, *A journey into Greece* (1682)



2. West elevation



3. Section at the axis of the central building looking north

Figs. 2 and 3. The Propylaea in classical times. Reconstruction by the author, 1985

original intentions for the plan of the Propylaea still tend to be controversial. Nevertheless, what was accomplished was enough to claim the admiration of his contemporaries and of the later generations. The group consists of a central building with two identical hexastyle Doric porticoes facing west and east, the western one being flanked by two Doric porticoes smaller in scale (Figs. 1–3).

The central building was divided into two unequal parts by a transversal wall, pierced with five doors; along the central axis of the building there was a ramp, serving the ascent of the animals of the Panathenaic procession. In the western part, which was much larger than the eastern, this ramp was flanked by six Ionic columns, which supported a marble ceiling of a magnificence unparalleled in antiquity. Each of the smaller Doric porticoes which flanked the western façade of the central building, had three columns *in antis*; the northern one was a vestibule to a large

rectangular room, known as the Pinakotheke (Picture Gallery), and the southern one served as a passage leading to the shrine of the small Ionic Temple of Athena Nike, which was standing on a podium to the west of that wing. The Propylaea have always been highly appreciated as the most original secular building of classical architecture. The two main classical orders, Doric and Ionic, the juxtaposition of two scales of the Doric order, the differentiation of levels, and the subtle use of grey marble, were all combined to interpret both the function of the building and the constraints on its situation on the sloping rock into architectural terms of great beauty.

The Propylaea were built to mark the end of the access to the Acropolis and the entrance to the holy precinct. Through the ages, they followed the various adventures of Athens and the Acropolis, always in close relationship with the western access which is the only negotiable access to the summit of the rock. In the 2nd century B. C. a high pedestal was built near the west wall of the Pinakotheke, which is known as the pedestal of Agrippa. In the 1st century A. D. a great flight of steps occupied the whole width between the two lateral wings, connecting the foot of the western slope of the Acropolis to the western portico of the central building of the Propylaea¹.

In the late 3rd century A. D. a gate with two towers was built on the lower stairs; this is now known as Beulé Gate, and it was connected to the Propylaea and the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike by walls (Fig. 4). Thus the Acropolis became again a citadel, for the first time since the end of the Persian wars in 480 B. C. As the western slope was always the most vulnerable part of the fortified rock, it subsequently underwent the greatest alterations during the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation; therefore it is almost impossible to study the Propylaea through that long period (267–1833 A. D.) separately from the fortifications of the western slope of the Acropolis.

The information about Athens and the Acropolis during the Middle Ages is very meagre. As for the Propylaea we find that in the 12th century A. D. they had been converted to an episcopal residence where the famous bishop of Athens, Michael Chomiates, lived (1183–1204). During the Frankish occupation of Athens (1204–1456 A. D.) they were still used as a residence, this time by the Dukes of Athens². After the surrender to the Turks, the *disdar*, the commandant of the citadel, used to live there with his family.

The 17th century has been chosen as the starting point of this study, because this is a very critical period of the history of the Acropolis and its monuments as buildings. Firstly, during that century the most spectacular destructions of those monuments took place; an explosion badly damaged the Parthenon in 1687 and, shortly before that, the Temple of Athena Nike was dismantled. All previous

¹ For the Acropolis and the Propylaea during the antiquity, see Travlos, *Athen*, with a complete bibliography up to that date. Also available in English: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971).

² The Propylaea during the Frankish occupation of Athens is the subject of the author's doctoral dissertation, which is intended to be submitted to the National Polytechnic School of Athens.

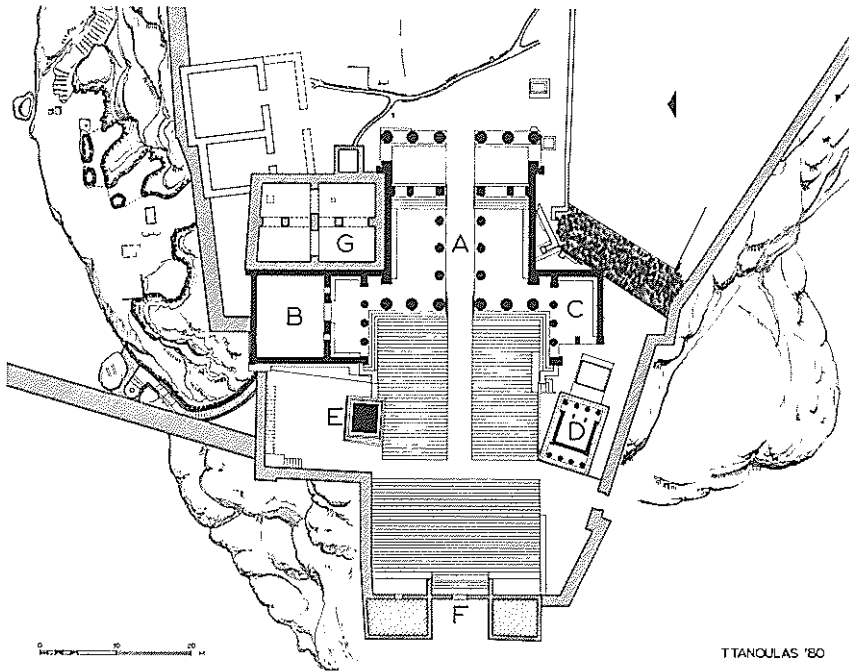


Fig. 4. Plan of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis at the end of the third century A. D.; A: Central building. — B: Northern wing. — C: Southern wing. — D: Temple of Athena Nike. — E: Pedestal of Agrippa. — F: Beulé Gate. — G: Late Roman cistern. Reconstruction by the author, 1980

alterations had been limited mainly to the addition of structures to adapt the buildings to their new uses. Secondly, in the 17th century we have for the first time a good deal of information about Athens and, particularly, the Acropolis; the developing taste for classical antiquity and the improved diplomatic relations between Turkey and other countries, especially France, brought to Athens some of the first Westerners who tried to identify the monuments and described their condition.

After the Venetian campaign of 1687, first-hand information about the Athenian monuments again becomes scanty. But about the middle of the 18th century the number of knowledgeable visitors began to increase; and then came the British architects J. Stuart and N. Revett and the French architect J.-D. Le Roy, who produced the first measured drawings of the monuments on the Acropolis. This antiquarian interest continued to the end of the 18th century, and then in the first quarter of the 19th century, it was combined with the romantic taste for the Orient; the result of all this enthusiasm is a great number of illustrations and descriptions³.

³ For the changes on the Acropolis and the Propylaea until the liberation see Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*; this is a fundamental study on the topography of Athens including the Acropolis from prehistoric times to the beginning of the 19th century, with abundant bibliography and illustrations. Id., *Athènes au fil du temps*, *Atlas historique d'urbanisme et d'architecture* (1972).

The end of the Greek revolution against the Turkish occupation was another critical point for the monuments of the Acropolis. On 31 March 1833 the Turkish garrison evacuated the Acropolis and on 18 March 1835 the Acropolis ceased to serve any military purpose. The desire to restore the identity of the classical buildings, which also symbolized the identity of the young state, together with the zeal of the archaeologists and architects to find out their original form, caused the demolition of the masses of masonry which surrounded them. As these additions were considered barbaric constructions, offensive to the classical past of the buildings, the official documentation on them is almost non-existent. It is again to occasional visitors, amateur or professional, that we owe a number of drawings and photographs showing the gradual changes on the Acropolis. The more objective quality of these illustrations permits us to interpret better much of the older information and many of the traces that still survive in situ. As the fortification had been stronger and more concentrated at the western end of the Acropolis, the visual aspect of the western access and the Propylaea was greatly changed after the liberation⁴.

The purpose of this study is to use the information provided by all the different sources which have been generally mentioned, in order to clarify the changes in the Propylaea and the western access to the Acropolis since the 17th century. This is considered interesting and instructive, not only in terms of the history of a building like the Propylaea, but also because it helps us to understand that preserving such a building means to respect all its long and eventful past; it is also interesting as an example of the history of conservation, or rather of human behaviour towards the heritage of the past, during a long period of time and under important historic changes.

THE PROPYLAEA BEFORE THE CAPTURE OF THE ACROPOLIS BY THE VENETIANS (1687)

The last Duke of Athens, Franco Acciajuoli, delivered the Acropolis to the Turks in 1458. The new conquerors respected the monuments and Sultan Mohamed II came himself to Athens to visit them. At that time they were still almost intact and he was so enthusiastic about them that he showed clemency to the Athenians and gave them such special privileges as religious freedom and relative self-administration⁵. From that early period of the Turkish occupation survives a description by an anonymous Greek who must have visited Athens about 1460⁶, but then we hear nothing about the city for another century. Intercourse between the East and Western Europe ceased; Athens was still further isolated as it was not on the usual routes of

⁴ For the works on the Acropolis and the Propylaea after the liberation and generally the interest in the antiquities before and after the liberation see Kokkou, with abundant bibliography.

⁵ Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 173.

⁶ E. Ziebarth, *AM* 24, 1899, 72–88; A. Comte de Laborde, *Documents sur l'histoire et les antiquités d'Athènes* (1854) 3–9; W. Miller, *Ἱστορία τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Μετάφρασις Σ. Π. Λάμπρου II* (1909/10) 158–161; K. M. Setton, *Katalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388* (1975) 236–238.

traders or of pilgrims to the Holy Land, which touched Crete, Rhodes and Cyprus. Its isolation was so complete that in 1575 the Tübingen professor Martin Crusius, inquired of Greek correspondents if Athens still existed.

But the 17th century saw a great development of French trade and influence in the Levant. Regular diplomatic relations were opened with the Turkish empire, consulates were established in the Morea and later in Athens. The end of the war between the Turks and the Venetians in 1669 resulted in greater freedom for travellers in the lands occupied by the Turks. Athens began to be rediscovered by the Western Europeans and the result is a good deal of first hand information about the city and the Acropolis. In 1674 the French ambassador in Constantinople, Olier de Nointel, visited Athens, with a number of scholars and artists; it is to this we owe Jean Giraud's accounts of Attica and the antiquities of Athens, the drawings of the Parthenon sculpture, and a couple of views of the Acropolis. In 1676 the French physician Jacob Spon, and his English companion George Wheler visited Athens, and in 1678 Spon published his memoirs, a book which was to exercise great influence on the visitors who were to come until the beginning of the 19th century. Wheler's book followed in 1682.

In 1687 the French Gravier d'Ortières visited Athens and had a view of the Acropolis commissioned; but in the autumn of that year the Venetians, under the general command of the doge Morosini, besieged the Acropolis bombing it unceasingly. One of their aims was to explode the powder magazine which the Turks had deposited in the Parthenon. This happened on the 26th of September, and subsequently the Acropolis was captured by the Venetians. From the time of this tragedy, which badly damaged the Parthenon, we have a fairly accurate plan of Athens including the Acropolis and two views of the latter made by the engineer of the Venetian army, Verneda⁷. Putting together all the pieces of information that have come from that period we shall try to reconstruct the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis during the 17th century. At times, of course, we will have to use some more recent sources, where we find elements which fill the gaps left by the earlier documentation.

The Central Building of the Propylaea

Spon and Wheler visited the Acropolis in 1676 and they are the first to give a detailed description of the Propylaea and their state at that time⁸. They inform us

⁷ See Laborde and Omont, *Athènes*; in these two fundamental books the most essential information and illustrations of Athens and the Acropolis are gathered. For documents discovered more recently, covering the whole period of the Turkish occupation, see: H. Omont, *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (1902); Paton, *The Erechtheum* (1927); id., *Visitors*; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1931), 15–24; S. H. Weber, *Voyages and travels in the Near East made during the XIXth century* (1952); id., *Voyages and travels in Greece, the Near East and adjacent regions made previous to the year 1801* (1953).

⁸ Spon 139–142; Wheler 359. Wheler's book is usually considered as a translation of Spon's, but it contains

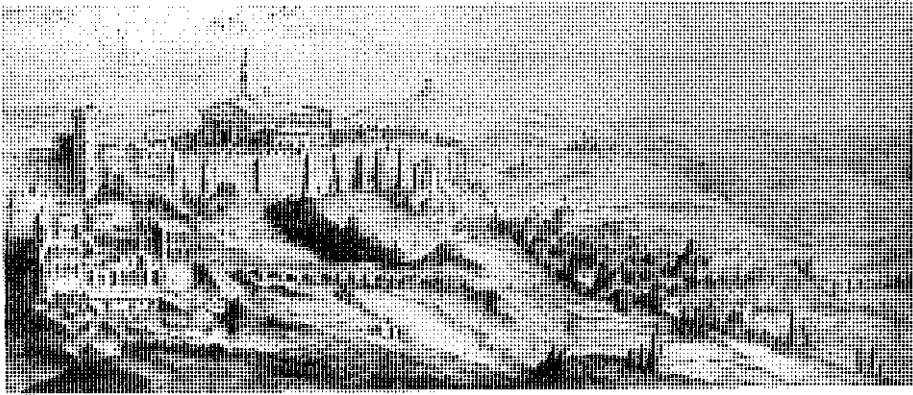


Fig. 5. The Acropolis in 1670, view from the southwest. Anonymous drawing. Bonn, Kunstmuseum

that the Propylaea, which then were known as the Arsenal of Lycurgus, had been used as an arsenal by the Turks and that, twenty years before their visit, lightning had caused the explosion of the gunpowder stored therein. According to them, this event took place in 1656. But the French consul at Athens, Jean Giraud, in his account dated 1675, says that the Propylaea exploded 35 years previously⁹. Since Giraud had a reputation for being well-informed about Athens and had served as a guide to J. Spon and G. Wheeler¹⁰, his testimony must be the most valuable, and so the explosion of the Propylaea took place most probably in 1640¹¹.

It is certain that when Spon and Wheeler speak about the Arsenal of Lycurgus they mean the central building of the Propylaea, since they say that it had its pediment still in place¹². Wheeler says that the explosion »blew part of the Roof, whereon the Haga's House stood, together with him, and his whole Family, up into the Air ... The Walls of the Building held fast, being of white Marble, very thick, ...; yet were they so crack't in some Places, that one may thrust one's hand through them. But the part of the Building towards the Front, which looketh Westwards, received no harm, either Walls or Roof«. In a view of the Acropolis from the southwest dated 1670, we can see the pediment on the western face of the central building of the Propylaea surmounted by a high crenellated wall which is the western wall of the aga's house, which survived the explosion (Fig. 5). The same

some original observations which throw a new and even valuable light on some of Spon's remarks.

⁹ M. Collignon, CRAI 25, 1897, 63. It reproduces a »Relation des Antiquités d'Athènes dans l'état qui se trouve à présent« which Collignon attributed to Giraud dating it in 1675, in his later article: Le Consul Jean Giraud et sa relation de l'Attique au XVIIe siècle, MemAcInscr 39, 1913, 5–8.

¹⁰ Spon 130–131.

¹¹ De la Rue gives 1645 as the date of the explosion; Paton, Visitors 146 n. 7.

¹² The lateral wings did not have pediments. The pediment made Spon believe the central building of the Propylaea had been a temple, but Wheeler, taking into account the lateral wings of the building, which he calls towers, concludes that it is the Propylaea. See Spon 139; Wheeler 359. Wheeler uses the word Eagle in describing the pediment.

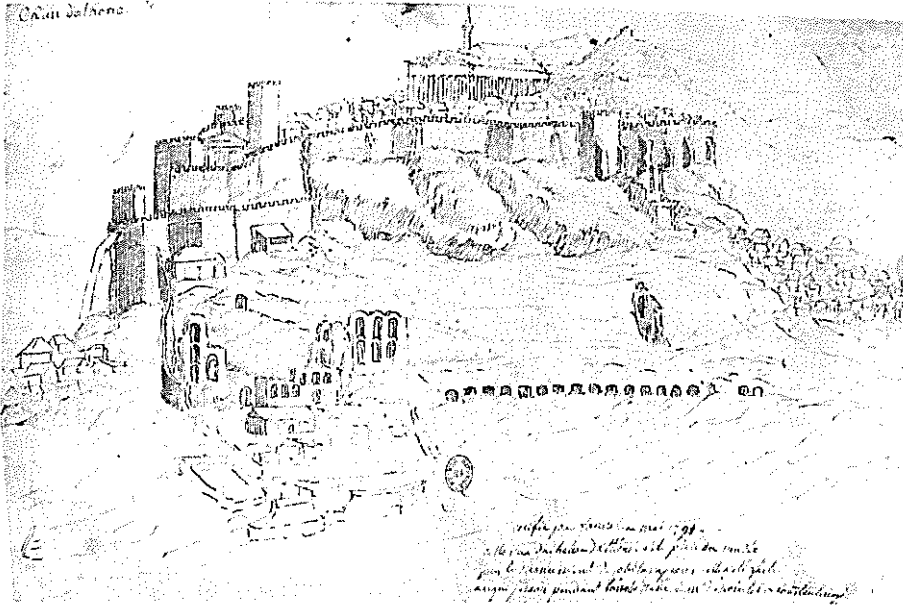


Fig. 6. The Acropolis seen from the southwest. Anonymous drawing for Nointel (1674)

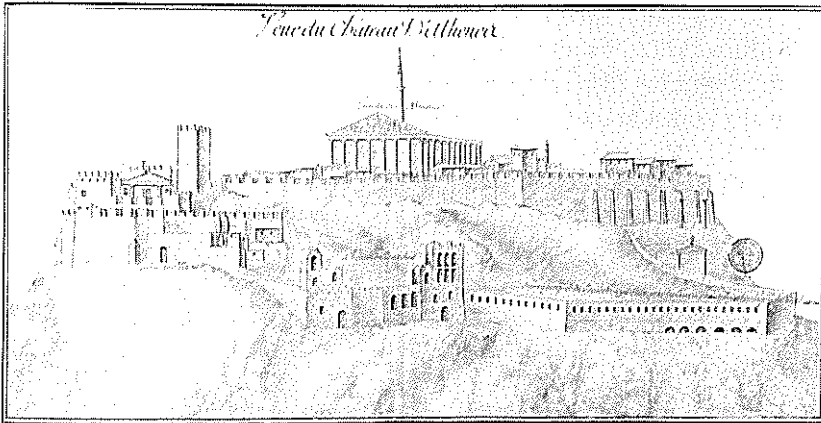


Fig. 7. The Acropolis seen from the southwest. Anonymous drawing made for d'Ortières a few months before the siege by Morosini (1687)

characteristics can be seen on three other drawings from 1674 and 1687 (Figs. 6. 7. 9)¹³.

Putting together these documents we can obtain a fairly clear idea of the central section before the explosion (Figs. 26. 27. 29). The classical building was almost

¹³ Omont, *Athènes* pls. 29; 31 a. b; 36a; the last drawing is a reproduction after Fanelli. Fanelli had never been in Athens; he used the documents of the Venetian campaign in 1687 and Spon's journal for his book; his drawings are based mainly on the originals by Verneda.

intact and on it stood the house of the aga, using the coffered ceiling as floor. Underneath, the ancient vestibule served as an arsenal where the Turks stored gunpowder and weapons. It retained all the splendour of the marble ceiling supported by the six Ionic columns, and the marble walls. The intercolumniations of the Doric porticoes had been walled in, as we can see in the already mentioned views of the Acropolis and also in Verneda's plan (Fig. 8)¹⁴. Most of these views show the masses of the buildings and are not very informative on architectural details. The most meticulous of them, the one made for d'Ortières in 1687 (Fig. 7) shows a large door in the centre of the western façade and a window in each flanking bay. We have to accept that the author of that drawing really was seeing windows at a high level, since openings are depicted in the anonymous drawing of 1670 in Bonn (Fig. 5), immediately under the architrave. One of these windows survived until the 19th century between the northern column of the western portico of the central building and the portico of the Pinakothek, as we can see in the view by W. Pars (Fig. 32) and in a view by W. Gell (Fig. 14)¹⁵. Of the door we have no evidence from any other source, and we might assume that the author of that drawing interpreted the central opening as a door¹⁶.

The intercolumniations of the eastern portico of the central building must have been also walled up at the time. A threshold still survives at the central intercolumniation at about the level of the stylobate; that door must have been in use before the explosion, and we can see its successor at a higher level on a drawing by Gell (Fig. 41). In this earliest view of this part of the building the upper drums and the capitals of the columns are standing free of the later masonry. It is assumed that, as in the western portico, openings had been left between the columns under the architrave.

The ramp which divided the floor of the central building was not revealed before the 19th century (Figs. 56, 57); during the Middle Ages it had been filled and paved, and four steps had been built to the west side of the central gate of the transversal wall to continue the steps, to the west side of the classical transversal wall. J. D. Le Roy in 1755¹⁷ and N. Revett in 1765¹⁸ did not notice any discontinuity of the floor and the steps.

¹⁴ This very important plan of Athens including the Acropolis was known only through the version issued by Fanelli until 1910, when the original was discovered in the Library of S. Marco, Venice, and published by B. Ehardt, *Der Burgwart* 11, 1910, 45–49, and A. Michaelis, *CRAI* 1910, 278–285. For further information on this and also other plans of Athens from the same period see Paton, *The Erechtheum* 601–604.

¹⁵ Gell's sketch-books are kept in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum where I was very kindly allowed to look at them and found some views of the Acropolis and the Propylaea which are valuable for this study.

¹⁶ He is also wrong as to the number of columns under the pediment; but this would be natural because of the distance, the shadow from the adjacent buildings, and the walls which blocked the intercolumniations and eliminated the visual effect of the columns; in all the other drawings of that period the columns of this façade are only hinted at.

¹⁷ *Le Roy* I 11–12 pl. 11–13; II 11–13.

¹⁸ *Stuart—Revett* II chap. 5 pl. 2. 4. The completion of the edition of this monumental work of exceptional

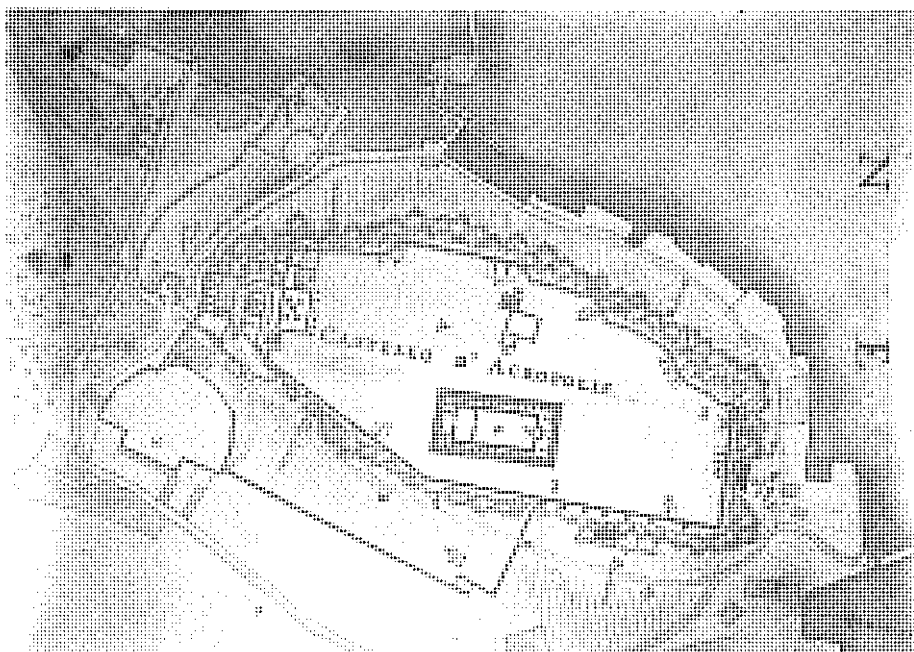


Fig. 8. Plan of the Acropolis of Athens. Detail of a plan of Athens by Veneda, made after the siege by Morosini (1687)

In the south wall of the western hall of the central building of the Propylaea there is an opening, now blocked with rough masonry (Fig. 78). This opening must have been made when this building was converted to an arsenal. Its height in the wall was dictated by the ground level outside; the position of the Propylaea at the lower part of the terrain of the Acropolis had caused a gradual embankment up to this level, as we can see in a drawing by Gell from between 1801 and 1805, taken from the western pediment of the Parthenon and looking towards the western part of the Acropolis (Fig. 16). Through this opening the arsenal was accessible from the outside by means of a moveable ladder. The marble blocks that surround this opening still retain the traces of the damage caused during the explosion by the fire which tried to escape through the few openings of that room. The vaults that we know existed in the central building of the Propylaea in the middle of the 18th century, were not there before the explosion because they were built over the ruins of the marble ceiling. Le Roy says that he measured the ruins of the ceiling under the vaults which covered it¹⁹, and R. Chandler, who visited the Acropolis in 1765, says that »under the vault and cannon, lies a heap of large stones, the ruin of the roof«²⁰. Spon is

quality took more than half a century: Vol. I (1762); Vol. II (1790); Vol. III (1797); Vol. IV (1816); second edition by W. Kinnard (1825–1830) with a Supplementary, *Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece, Sicily, etc.* (1830).

¹⁹ Le Roy I 12.

²⁰ R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* (1776) 41. Chandler as he goes on, locates the explosion in

definite in saying that by the time of his visit there had not been any rebuilding in there²¹.

As mentioned before, Wheler leaves us no doubt that the western part of the roof had survived the explosion together with the western façade of the central building of the Propylaea and the aga's house above (Fig. 30). Describing the central building which he calls 'Pronaos', he says that its roof is held up by »beautiful Ionick pillars, sustaining two great Marble beams, which are covered with large Marble Planks«²². His description of the roof is correct and in the present tense. Spon's description is also in the present tense and very correct when he explains the use of the two orders: »It (the central building of the Propylaea) is in Doric order outside, but the columns which sustain it inside are Ionic because, as they had to be higher by the whole thickness of the architrave in order to sustain the roof, the proportion of the Ionic order which makes the column slenderer than the Doric, was more convenient«²³. It is evident that they saw some of the columns with their capitals in place sustaining the roof; they must have had evidence for this, because as they were not architects, they would not have been able to interpret the ruins in such a correct manner²⁴.

Wheler says that four Ionic pillars sustained the roof, although it is certain that he saw the shafts of all the Ionic columns, which were six. We cannot be sure if he means that four of them had still their full height and capitals or if his memory simply failed as to the number of columns. Anyway, it is certain that at least the extreme western columns of both the Ionic colonnades were intact and carrying the surviving part of the roof; in the view of the Propylaea by Pars (Fig. 35) made in 1765 after the demolition of the upper part of the western façade and the roof, those Ionic columns still retain their upper astragal.

The Northern Wing of the Propylaea

The general aspect of the northern wing of the Propylaea does not seem to have suffered essential changes from the time of its earliest depiction in 1670 until its demolition after the liberation of the Acropolis in 1833. The intercolumniations of the portico were closed with rough walls, penetrated only with very small openings

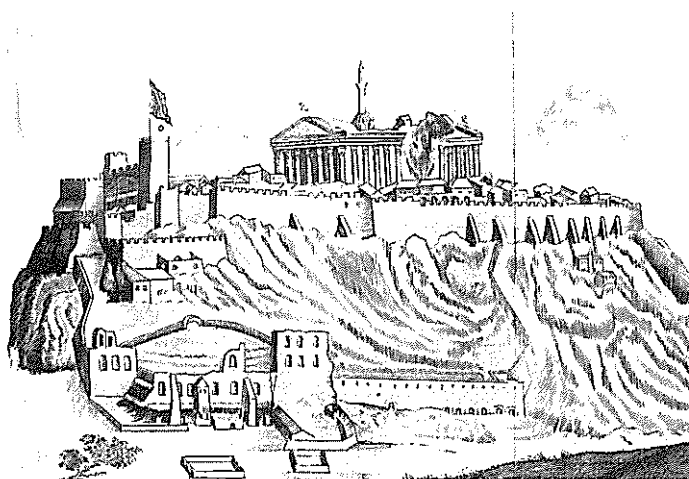
the northern wing of the Propylaea which he calls the temple of Victory (according to the wrong interpretation of Stuart and Revett). But Revett on his copy of the book corrected the passage like this: (the northern wing) »adjoined to and was part of the Disdar Aga's house, until abt the year 1656, when the vestibule of the Propylaea being used as a Magasine of Powder, was blown up by lightning ...«. Revett's corrections and remarks are incorporated in: *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece by the late Richard Chandler, D. D. A new edition, with corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett Esq. (1825).*

²¹ Spon 141. He adds that the aga had some low rooms in the vicinity where he kept his women. This should refer to the Pinakotheke.

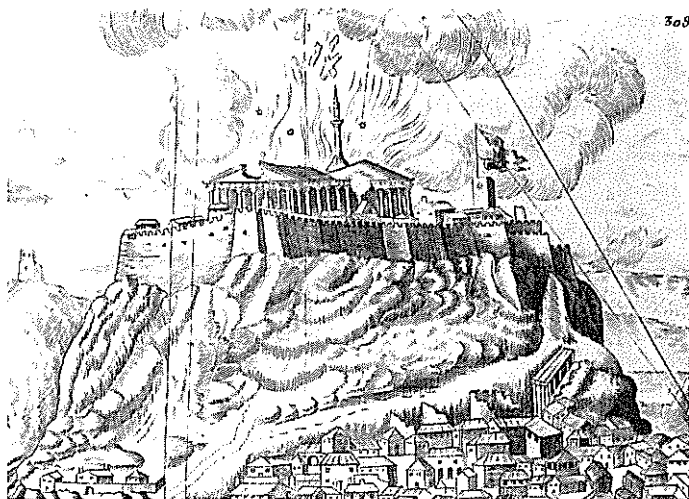
²² Wheler 359.

²³ Spon 140.

²⁴ Le Roy who was a professional architect could not imagine above the Ionic capitals the two beams which sustained the coffered ceiling, because by this time (1755) the roof and the Ionic capitals had disappeared. Revett, ten years later, avoided suggesting any reconstruction of the roof for lack of evidence.



9. View from the southwest (Fanelli after Verneda)



10. View from the northeast (Fanelli after Verneda)

Figs. 9 and 10. The Acropolis of Athens after the siege by Morosini

serving as loopholes (Figs. 34. 35. 37). The Pinakothekē was covered with mediaeval vaults supported by a central pier and dies in contact with the walls²⁵. Three narrow openings, one in the northern wall and two in the western one, served as loopholes.

²⁵ The mediaeval roof in the Pinakothekē is mentioned by some travellers: Chandler, *op. cit.* 41 says »the room (the Pinakothekē) which has a modern roof and is dark ...«. Fanelli 317 gives a plan of the Acropolis where the Pinakothekē has a cross vault (Fig. 11). — J. A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée* (1843) 127: »Il y a peu d'années que la colonne centrale sur laquelle reposaient les arceaux de cette chapelle, qui allaient s'appuyer sur les quatre angles de la Pinacothèque existaient encore. Ce n'est qu'en 1836 et 1837 qu'elle a été abattue ...« The foundations of the central pier and the dies can be seen in Cavvadias—Kawerau pl. B.

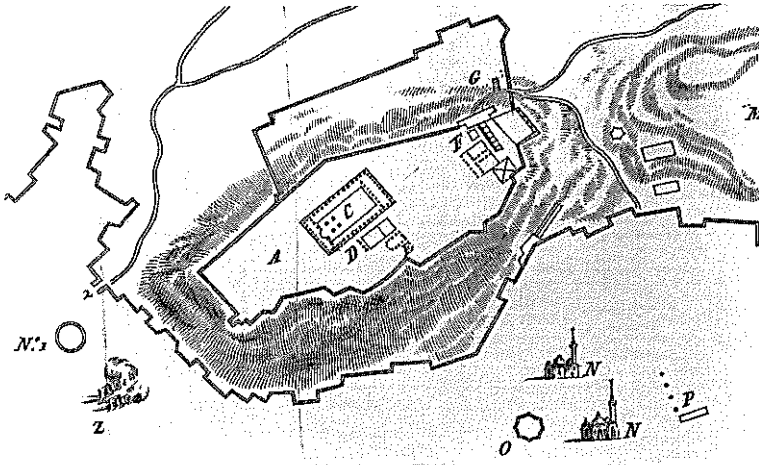


Fig. 11. Plan of the Acropolis of Athens (Fanelli)

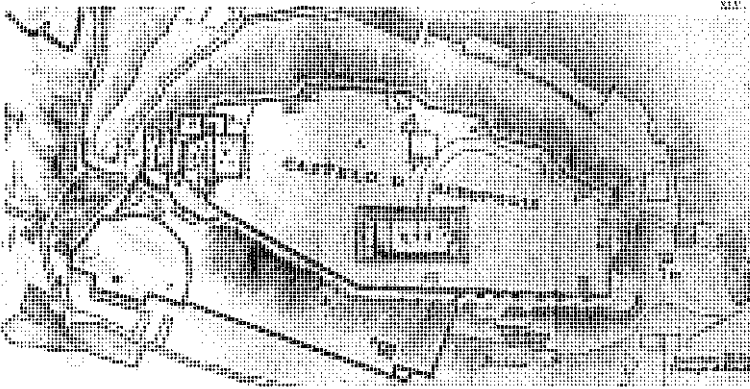


Fig. 12. Plan of the Acropolis (Fanelli after Verneda)

A rectangular opening pierced high up in the wall permitted communication with the level outside and over the late Roman cistern. These openings are still in place (Figs. 13. 14)²⁶.

Above the Pinakothek and its walled portico a second floor built during the Middle Ages served as a part of the residence of the Turkish commander of the Acropolis²⁷. We can see its rectangular windows in many illustrations (Figs. 7. 35.

²⁶ A small explosion is referred to as having happened in the Propylaea on 22 September 1687, the day before the explosion in the Parthenon (see Laborde 149). I believe that this explosion took place in the Pinakothek, the medieval vaults of which provided a convenient powder magazine. We can still see traces of it on the lower marble blocks of the eastern half of the south wall; the crack that runs from the bottom to the top of the western half of that wall, must be the result of the same event. The vaults though, survived until the liberation.

²⁷ Wheler 359: »the Northern Tower(wing): above which is built now the Haga's Lodgings«.

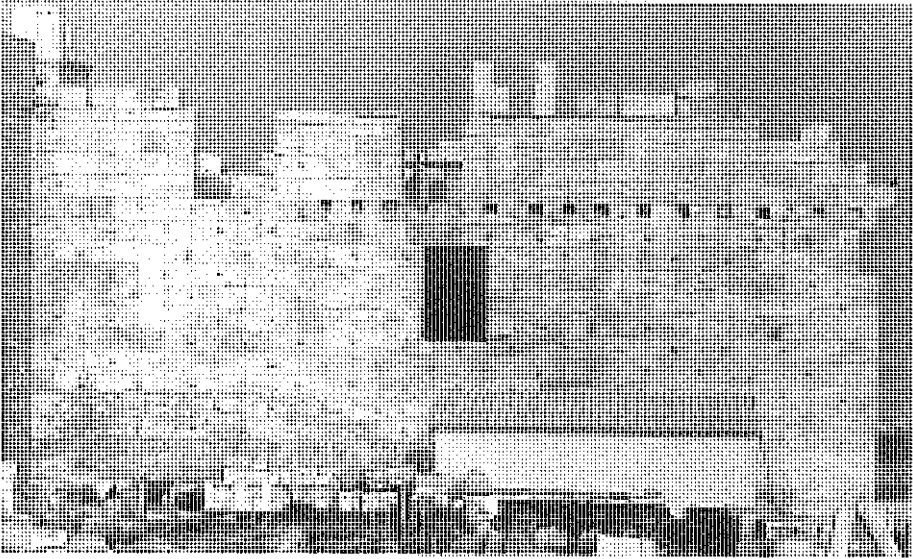


Fig. 13. The eastern wall of the northern wing of the Propylaea from the east (1982)

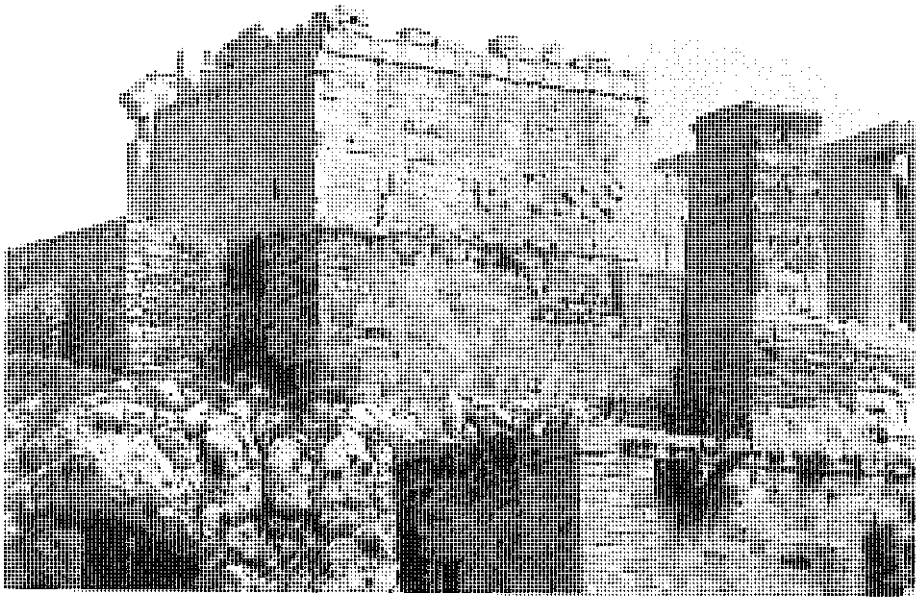


Fig. 14. The northern wing of the Propylaea and the pedestal of Agrippa from the northwest (1982)

37. 44) of the Propylaea and find traces of them on the building itself (Figs. 13. 14). The walls of that edifice were crenellated and the upper floor had a hipped roof as we can see in the view by Pars of 1765 for the first time, and in many later views of the Propylaea as well (Figs. 5—7. 9. 15. 16. 35). In the upper part of the eastern

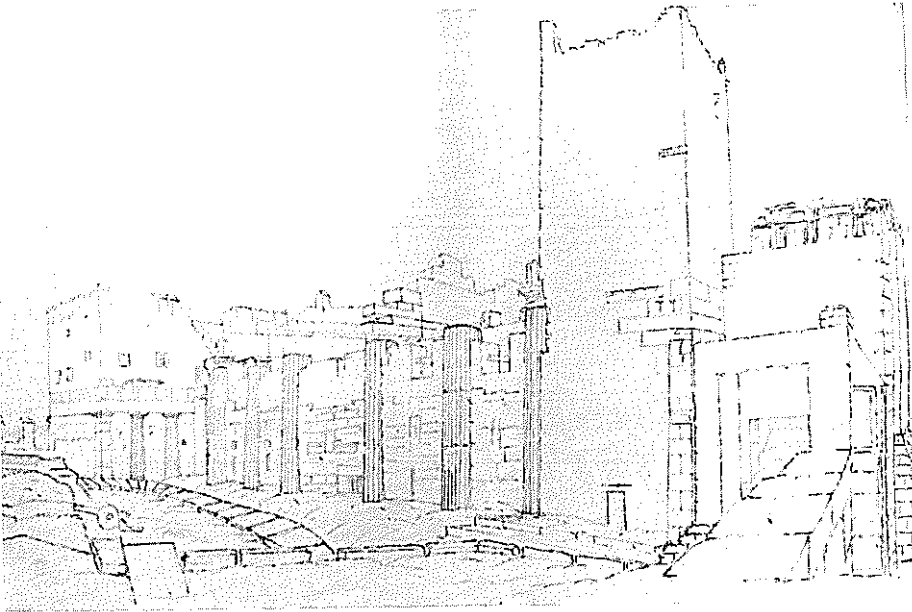


Fig. 15. The Propylaea from the southwest corner of the second battery (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

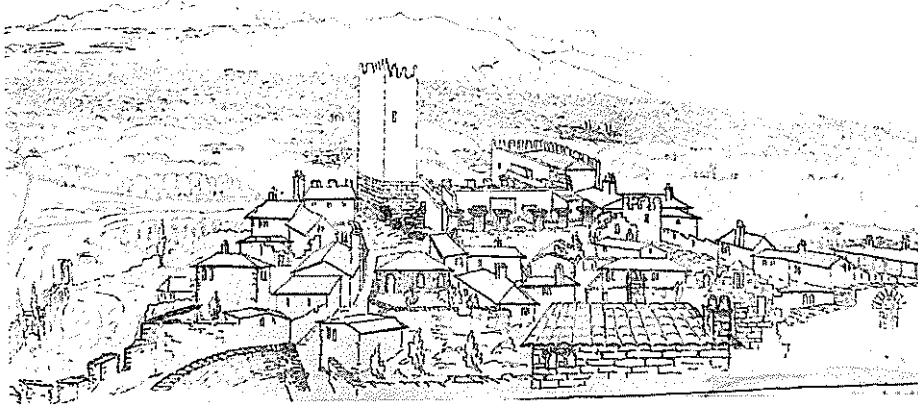


Fig. 16. Western part of the Acropolis from the western pediment of the Parthenon (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

wall of the Pinakothek and its portico there are two openings cut in the marble blocks (Fig. 13). These must have been opened during the Middle Ages to allow connection between the upper lodgings and an extension attached to the east of the northern wing; the holes for the timber floor of this extension still exist on the exterior surface of the eastern wall of the northern wing and the holes for the timbers of its roof can be seen in a drawing by L.-F. Boitte made in 1864, after the clearance of the classical building from the later additions had begun (Fig. 19). In this drawing and also in two others by Boitte (Figs. 17, 70) and a plan by P. Desbuisson made in

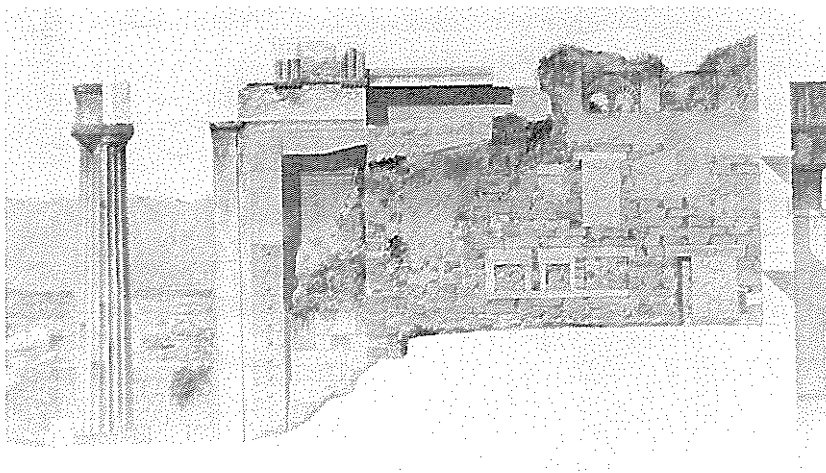


Fig. 17. North elevation of the remains of the Byzantine church between the central building and the northern wing of the Propylaea. Detail of a measured drawing (L. F. Boitte, 1864)

1848 (Fig. 18) we can see the ruins of a Byzantine church in the corner between the central building and the northern wing of the Propylaea²⁸.

Over the remains of the church there are also the remains of a later building, rectangular in plan, occupying the whole width of the church but shorter. I believe that, after the establishment of the Turkish garrison on the Acropolis, this church was converted to a part of the aga's residence; and for that purpose the apse was taken down to its foundations. The mediaeval eastern extension to the northern wing must have continued to be used as a part of the aga's residence even after the explosion of the central building, at least until the capture of the Acropolis by the Venetians.

On the plans by Desbuisson and Boitte mentioned before, the open area between the central building and the northern wing of the Propylaea is closed to the east by a massive oblong construction with its length from the south to the north and a triangular projection to the east. It must be the foundations of a mediaeval tower which protected the ducal residence from inside the Acropolis; this fortification, together with the late Roman cistern, made the Propylaea an independent stronghold in the citadel. We can see a part of the crenellation of this mediaeval tower in a drawing by Gell (Fig. 16)²⁹.

In most of the views of the Acropolis made before or during the siege by the Venetians we can see a tower higher than the crenellated outline of the Propylaea

²⁸ These drawings are also published in: Paris—Rome—Athènes 188. 205. 206. 210. The originals of the drawings included in the catalogue are in colour, mostly large in scale and exceptionally fine.

²⁹ In Pars' view of the Propylaea (Fig. 35) we see parts of this tower emerging behind the central building to a level higher than the crenellation of the northern wing. The plan of this tower can be seen also in E. Beulé, *L'Aerople d'Athènes I* (1853) »Plan général de l'entrée« at the end of the volume.

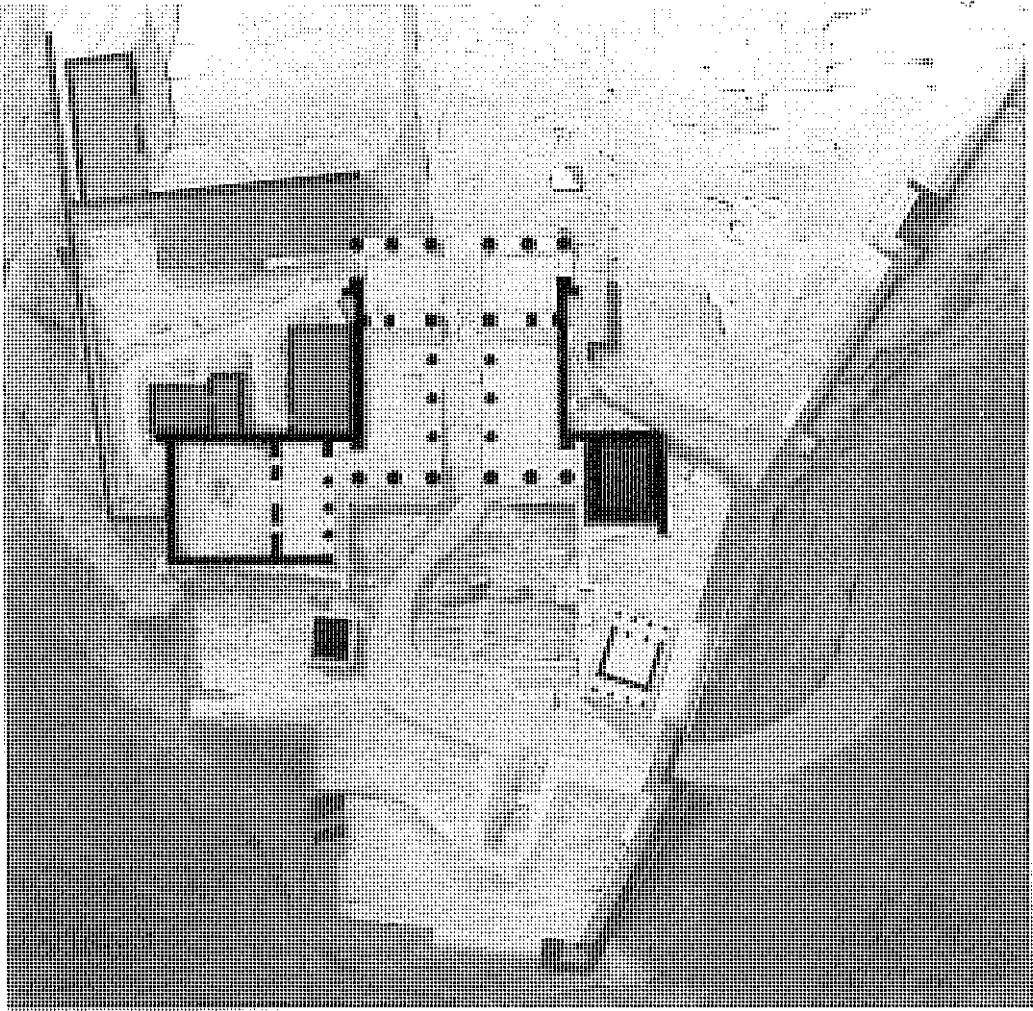


Fig. 18. General plan of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis (P. Desbuisson, 1848)

and considerably lower than the Frankish tower on the southern wing. If we take into account the perspective and the point from which these views have been taken, we see that the most probable position of this tower is about the middle of the oblong massive tower. And indeed, in no other place near the Propylaea we have any evidence for foundations of such a structure. Since this tower is depicted in the 1687 views (Figs. 9. 10) it existed until then. But it does not appear in any of the later drawings³⁰.

³⁰ The tower appears in the views for Nointel (Fig. 6) and d'Ortières (Fig. 7) and in the views by Fanclli after Verneda (Figs. 9. 10).

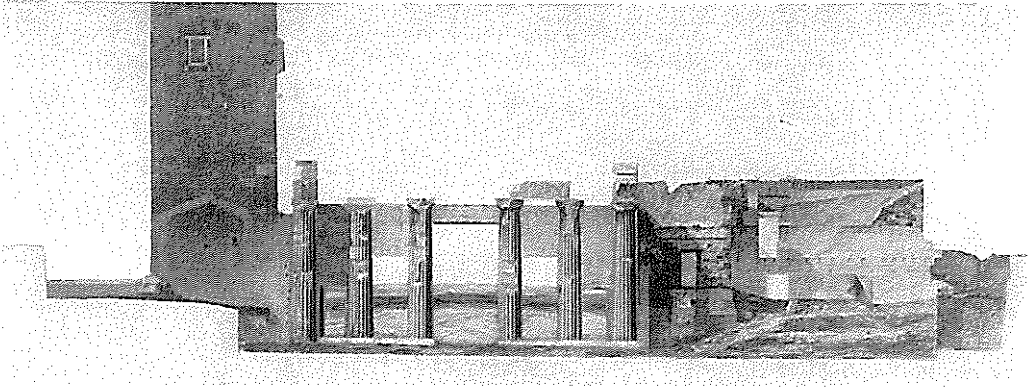


Fig. 19. East elevation of the Propylaea (L. F. Boitte, 1864)

The Southern Wing of the Propylaea

On the southern wing of the Propylaea a square tower had been built during the late Middle Ages. It was demolished as late as 1875. During that long period of time the aspect of this part of the Propylaea did not have any obvious change. The Doric columns of the portico were completely covered from the outside by a wall; that is why Wheler had to assume the former existence of the Doric columns there, considering that the south wing must have been symmetrical to the northern wing, where the Doric columns were still visible³¹. Wheler and Spon did not enter the tower, where two of the columns, the anta and the entablature, were visible in the wall, as E. Dodwell saw them at the beginning of the 19th century³². The western column and pier of the southern wing, and the architrave and central pier of its western façade had been demolished in the Middle Ages to make room for the ramp, which led to the last entrance of the Acropolis to the south of the Frankish tower. Both Spon and Wheler recognized that the lower part of the tower was built on an ancient substructure, because the original southern and eastern walls were visible from the outside³³. The tower is a dominating feature of all the views of the western part of the Acropolis from 1670 down to 1875; and according to these it does not seem to have undergone any essential alterations (Figs. 15. 16. 19. 40. 54. 68. 70–72. 75. 77)³⁴.

The Western Access of the Propylaea

In all the views of the Acropolis dating between 1670 and 1687, and also in the drawings made by the engineers of Morosini during the siege of the Acropolis by

³¹ Wheler 359.

³² E. Dodwell, *A classical and topographical tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806 I* (1819) 312.

³³ Spon 142; Wheler 359.

³⁴ A description of the tower exists in: E. Burnouf, *La ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques* (1877) 75–78.

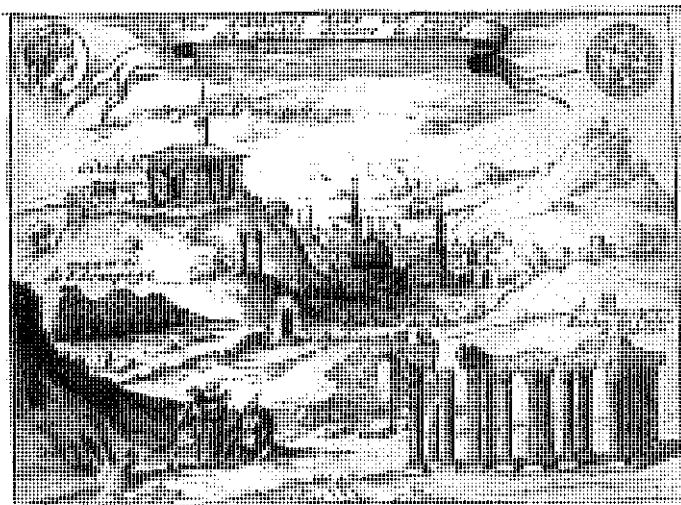


Fig. 20. View of Athens from the south (Babin, 1672)

the Venetians and especially in the plan of Athens by Verneda (Fig. 8; n. 14), the citadel is isolated from the town of Athens. The city walls had been destroyed at some time in the 17th century. The fences and the external walls of the houses served as an elementary city wall, interrupted by the streets which led out of the town. The Rizokastron, the mediaeval wall which surrounded the Acropolis and connected it with the town, had disappeared (Figs. 20. 21. 28)³⁵.

In the drawings from 1670 and 1674 (Figs. 5. 6) we can distinguish only the remains of the southern part of the Rizokastron which connected the southwest corner of the Acropolis with the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. But on the drawing made for d'Ortières in 1687 (Fig. 7) just before the siege of the Acropolis by the Venetians, we can see that a wall with loopholes but without crenellation runs along the top of the remains of the Stoa of Eumenes until the site of the Theatre of Dionysus; at that point it turns to the north to end at the rock of the Acropolis. This wall which appears in all the later plans and views of this area became commonly known as the Serpente. It was obviously repaired, or rather rebuilt, at any rate in the length east of the Odeion of Herodes in 1687, when the Turks were awaiting the attack of the Venetian troops. At its southeast corner there was a square tower or guard-house through which one entered the area enclosed by the Serpente (Figs. 8. 9. 12. 23. 31. 32). A second entrance to the north of this tower can be seen in Verneda's plan³⁶. The third entrance to the area enclosed by the Serpente faced

³⁵ Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 178. — J. P. Babin, *Relation de l'état present de la ville d'Athènes* (1674) 11. — C. Magni, *Relazione de la Citta d'Athene colle provincie de l'Attica, Focia, Bocozia, e Negroponte* (1688) 12. The absence of city walls can be noticed also in the plan of Athens attributed to the Capuchins (ca. 1670) as reproduced in: De la Guilletière, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle et l'état present de l'Empire des Turcs* (1675); the latter has been reproduced again in: Omont, *Athènes* pl. 40.

³⁶ In Verneda's plan (Fig. 8) this door is open, but in Fanelli's version of the same plan (Fig. 12) it is closed.

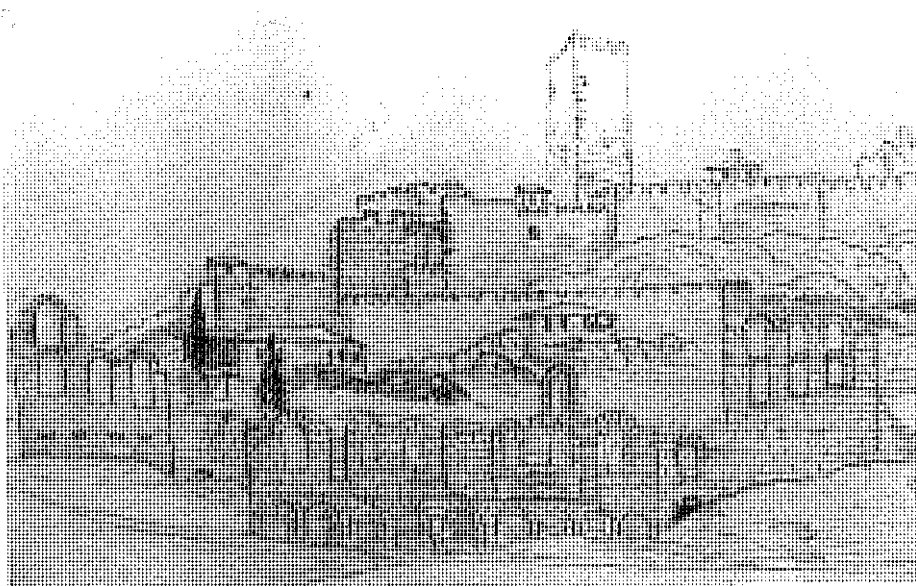


Fig. 22. The western part of the Acropolis from the south. Detail of a view including the whole of the Acropolis (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1805)

house. This had its entrance to the west and two rectangular windows to the south. To the north it was attached to a crenellated wall surrounding the court of the guards, which was accessible through the second gate, in front of which the guard-house stood. The lintel of this gate was of marble with an inversed inscription of Flavius Septimius Marcellinus⁴⁰.

In the court of the guards there were two rectangular houses. In Verneda's plan (Fig. 8) we see the one of them attached on the west side of the second gate and the other on the northern side of the court, attached to the wall of the Acropolis⁴¹. From this court Spon and Wheler admired what they thought to be the foundations of the Propylaea or of a superb marble portico. There is no doubt they meant the southern side of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike which at that time must have been still in place, retaining its marble cornice. To the west of the northern side of this court, the visitors found the third gate, over which Babin, Spon, and Wheler observed an eagle carved on ancient marble, with very fine craftsmanship. This was probably a piece of the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike; the human characteristics of the winged figure of Nike having been deformed, one could easily

⁴⁰ Spon 136; Wheler 358; Chandler, *op. cit.* (n. 20) 39; Dodwell, *op. cit.* 310–311. The guard-house can be seen in all the 17th century views of the Acropolis from the southwest (Figs. 5–7, 9) and on Verneda's plan (Fig. 8). In Fanelli's view of the Acropolis from the southwest (Fig. 9) the guard-house has lost its roof, probably during the bombardment by the Venetians. It is very likely that the neighbouring small mosque was ruined at the same time, as Stuart and Revett saw it in 1751 (see n. 38).

⁴¹ Fanelli 315 mentions the two houses but in his plan of the Acropolis (Fig. 12) we see only the one opposite to the second gate.



Fig. 23. View of the wall of Serpentze from the southeast inscribed »Gate of Serpentzi Acropolis Athens 1st June 1840. Wall of theatre of Bacchus June 1841« (J. Skene, 1840–1841)

take it for an eagle, the distance and the narrow visual angle helping such a misinterpretation⁴².

After having entered the third gate one was in a corridor about five metres wide, which mounted to the north⁴³. To the left was the high western grand battery with four cannon, as it is depicted on the drawing of the Kunstmuseum in Bonn (Fig. 5). It had two levels as we can see in Verneda's plan (Fig. 8), and these can be distinguished also in a view by Gell taken from the northwest corner of the grand battery (Fig. 24). The higher level, where the cannon stood, was accessible from the south end of the corridor by a flight of steps shown in Verneda's plan; the door leading from the corridor to the bottom of that flight of steps can be seen in the same view by Gell⁴⁴.

In the view of the Acropolis made for d'Ortières (Fig. 7), in Fanelli's view from the southwest (Fig. 9), and in Verneda's plan (Fig. 8), all from 1687, we see a square tower at the conjunction of the wall surrounding the court of the guards and of the western grand battery. Since this tower does not exist in any of the previous views

⁴² Babin, *op. cit.* 35; Spon 137; Wheeler 358. The greater part of the western front of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike remained in place until the liberation, together with the marble cornice. Babin saw the eagle »sur la porte de la Citadelle au dedans« and Wheeler's text is obscure and confuses the third and fourth gates of the citadel; it is not improbable then that the eagle was a fragment of the western parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike.

⁴³ The width of the corridor is according to the plan of the Acropolis in Stuart—Revett² II pl. 5 (Fig. 55).

⁴⁴ The edge of the higher level of the battery and the entrance from the corridor can be seen at the bottom of the drawing to the left.

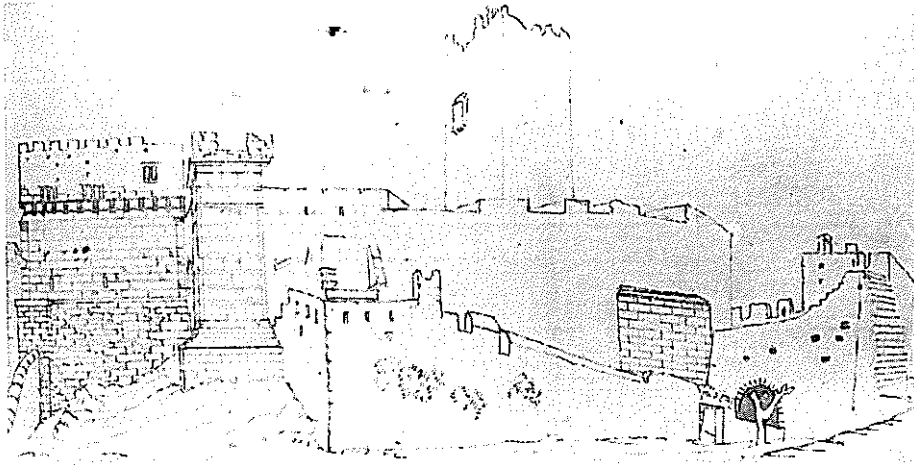


Fig. 24. View of the Propylaea, the pedestal of Agrippa, the Frankish tower and the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike from the northwest area of the first battery (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

of the Acropolis it must have been erected as a part of the repairs of the fortification, undertaken by the Turks while they were expecting the attack of the Venetians⁴⁵; the remains of that tower at the very beginning of the 19th century are fairly accurately depicted in some views by Gell (Figs. 22. 24. 47. 49), and also in Stuart and Revett's plan of the Acropolis (Figs. 31. 55). It was a square tower built on the western side of the third gate, partly on the southeast corner of the first bastion and partly protruding in the court of the guards, of which the wall joined the southwest corner of the tower. Its crenellated top was only a little lower than the second bastion, with which it was connected with a lower crenellated wall above the third gate. This tower was probably accessible from the lower level of the first bastion. On the view made for d'Ortières in 1687 a small guard-house with two windows can be seen at the northwest corner of the grand battery⁴⁶.

According to Verneda's plan and Fanelli's description⁴⁷, from the northern end of the ramp previously described one could enter the rectangular court which still

⁴⁵ See Laborde and I. Gennadios, *Ὁ Μοροζίνης ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἐν Ἀθῆναις* (1929; Extract from *Ἑλληνισμός* 1928–1929).

⁴⁶ It can be distinguished on the anonymous view in the Kunstmuseum of Bonn (Fig. 5) as well. It does not appear on the view of the Acropolis from the southwest published by Fanelli; having in mind that it is not unusual to him to misinterpret some details on the original drawings by Verneda, I think it very probable that the pent-roofed shed with two windows, shown by Fanelli as attached on the western wall of the Pinakothek, is a misinterpretation of Verneda's depiction of that guard-house at the northern corner of the first bastion. The existence of such a shed attached to the Pinakothek is very improbable as, if it had existed, it would be a very tall construction, requiring very thick walls and it would be almost impossible that no traces survived in the 18th and 19th centuries. But there is no evidence of such a construction in any of the drawings made during these centuries, including the drawings of the excavations of the Acropolis between 1885 and 1890 (see n. 25).

⁴⁷ Fanelli 315.

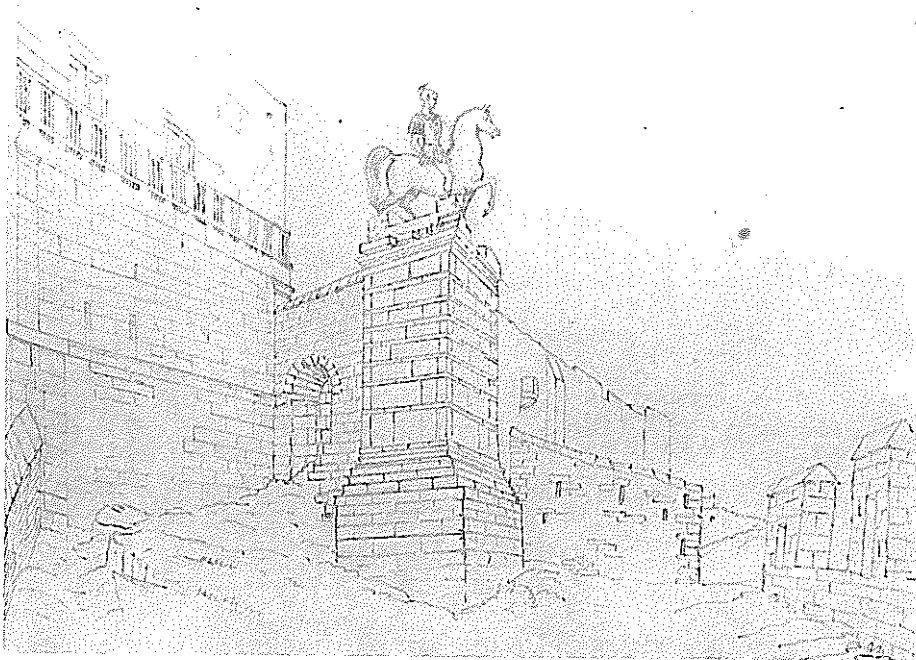


Fig. 25. View of the Pinakothek and the pedestal of Agrippa from the court at their northwest (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

exists to the north of the pedestal of Agrippa and to the west of the Pinakothek. This court was enclosed by a wall to its western and northern sides as we can see in the view made for d'Ortières (Fig. 7) and in all the later views of the western part of the Acropolis⁴⁸. Its northwest corner was occupied by a low crenellated square tower which can be distinguished already in the drawing made for Nointel in 1674 (Fig. 6). A Byzantine opening which still exists in the northern wall of this area (Fig. 14) was not used at that time, according to Fanelli⁴⁹. This court communicated also with the area behind the second bastion which connected the pedestal of Agrippa with the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike; the communication was through an arched door pierced in the wall which connected the pedestal of Agrippa with the southwest anta of the north wing of the Propylaea. This door existed when Stuart and Revett visited the Acropolis (1751) and can be seen on their plan of the Acropolis (Fig. 28) and in two views by Gell (Figs. 24, 25)⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ The earliest views of the Acropolis from the northwest are those by Gell. In these we can see that the northern wall of this area had no crenellation and its top followed the changing height of the rock and that the western wall was crenellated (Figs. 25, 43, 44, 47).

⁴⁹ Fanelli 315.

⁵⁰ This door is not mentioned by Verneda and Fanelli; but they mention the wall between the pedestal and the Pinakothek and it is very improbable that the door was pierced in that wall in a later time; most probably this door had been walled up or, at least, was no longer in use.

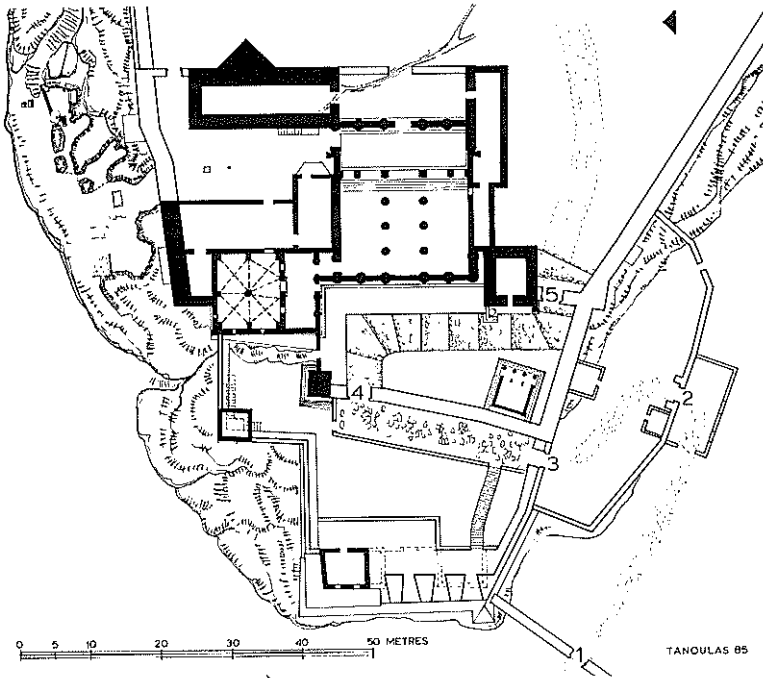


Fig. 26. Plan of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis before the explosion in the central building in 1640. Reconstruction by the author, 1985. The numbers indicate the successive entrances to the citadel

The fourth gate to the Acropolis was pierced in the bastion which connected the pedestal of Agrippa to the northwest corner of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike. After having entered this gate Spon and Wheeler saw on their right the small Ionic Temple of Athena Nike which then was a powder magazine⁵¹. It seems that the second bastion had not yet been so large as to impede the view of the temple from the gate. On the plan by Verneda (1687), this temple does not appear at all; the second bastion appears broadened, in order to mount a battery of five cannon which are also depicted in the plan. Although Fanelli, following Spon's book, speaks of the Temple of Athena Nike as if it still existed⁵², it must have been dismantled and built into the bastion by the Turks shortly before the Venetian siege, when they wanted to reinforce the western access of the Acropolis with a second battery. Three

⁵¹ Spon 137–139; Wheeler 358. In the view in the Kunstmuseum Bonn (1670; Fig. 5) this second bastion and the second tower, which we localized to the northeast of the Propylaea, are omitted. Since these two elements are visible already in the view made for Nointel (1674; Fig. 6) and no historic evidence justifies any military building activity in the meantime, the first drawing must be wrong; however it is certainly wrong as to the second bastion, because even if the bastion did not exist at that time, the Temple of Athena Nike must have been seen emerging over the crenellation of the court of the guards.

⁵² Fanelli 315.

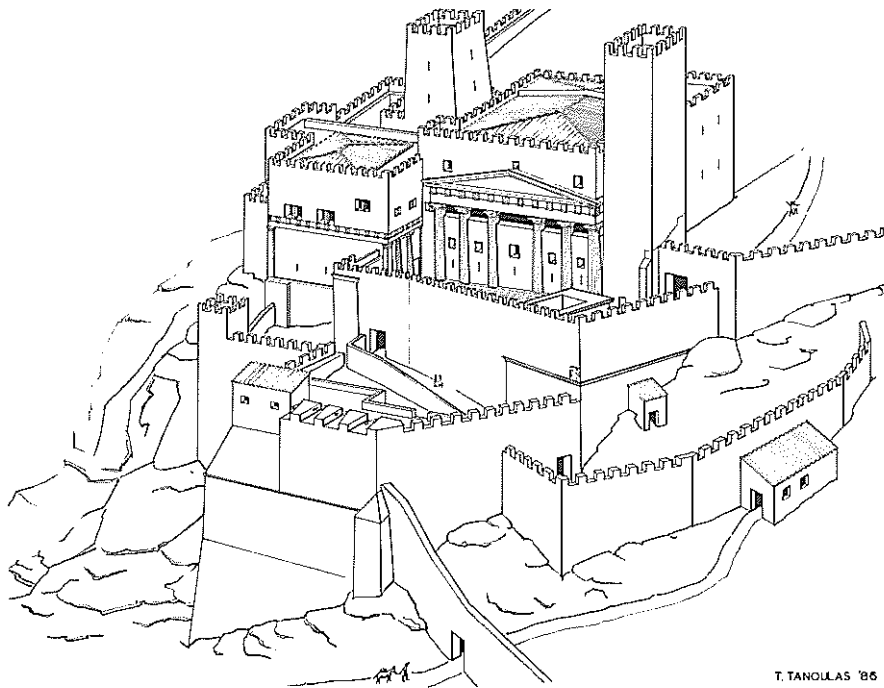


Fig. 27. Bird's eye view of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis from the southwest. Reconstruction by the author, 1986

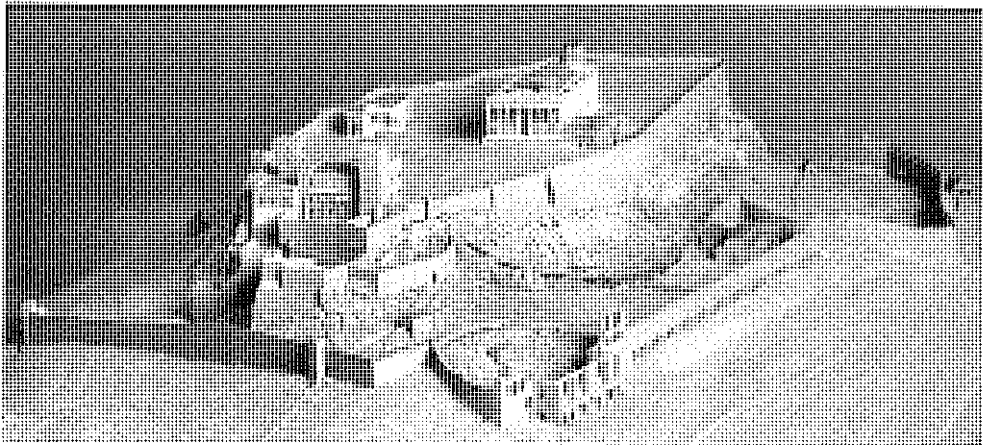


Fig. 28. The Acropolis in the mid-fifteenth century a short time before the Turkish conquest, scale model. Reconstruction by the author, model made by P. Dimitriadis, 1985. The Propylaea have been turned into a fortified palace, the Parthenon into a church, and the Erechtheion is probably the residence of the Latin Bishop of Athens. Parts of the remains of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, the Stoa of Eumenes and the Theatre of Bacchus have been incorporated in the Rizokastron wall

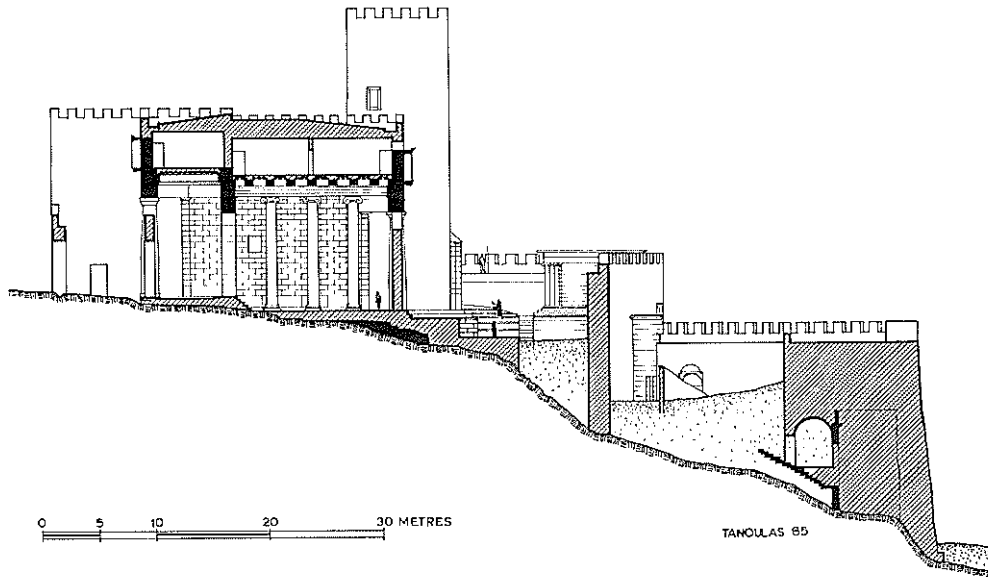


Fig. 29. Central section of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis looking south, before the explosion in the central building in 1640. Reconstruction by the author, 1985. Solid black: classical; hatching: mediaeval or Turkish

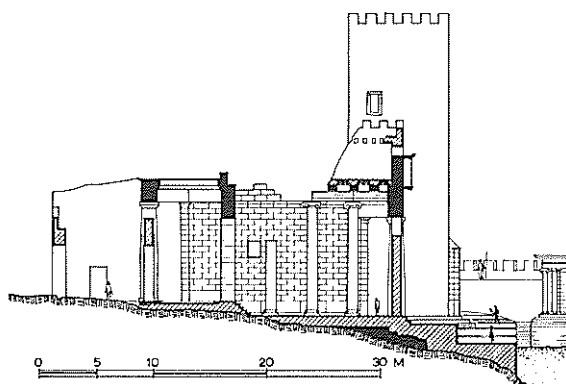
low relief sections from the frieze had been built in the wall in a way that they were visible, and these are referred to by 18th century visitors⁵³.

In Verneda's plan it is evident that after having entered the fourth gate one had to walk eastwards for a while on an ascending ramp between the very massive bastion on the right and another construction on the left; the top of the latter formed a terrace in front of the Pinakotheke and continued in front of the western portico of the central building of the Propylaea, meeting the pavement of the ramp near the Frankish tower. This construction can be seen in the views of the Propylaea by Le Roy (Fig. 34) and by Smirke (Fig. 37); it must have been built by the Franks as a platform in front of the Ducal palace into which the Propylaea had been converted during the Frankish occupation. Verneda has marked on his plan the broad inclined steps paved with stones, which we can see in the views of the Propylaea by Thürmer (Fig. 53) and Kinnard (Fig. 54). The ramp passed by the stylobate of the western column of the southern wing where the shallow circle indicating the position of the column which had been removed could be seen⁵⁴; then it reached the level of the stylobate of the Propylaea about the southwest pilaster of the southern wing of the Propylaea which projected off the Frankish tower, and it turned eastwards to meet the fifth and last entrance to the Acropolis (Fig. 15).

⁵³ J. Montague, Earl of Sandwich, *A voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739 written by himself* (1799) 61; R. Pococke, *A description of the East II* 2 (1743–45) 161; Stuart—Revett II chap. 5.

⁵⁴ Dodwell, *op. cit.* (n. 32) 312; see also the view of the Propylaea by Kinnard (Fig. 54).

Fig. 30. Central section of the Propylaea looking south, after the explosion in the central building in 1640. Reconstruction by the author, 1985. Solid black: classical; hatching: mediaeval or Turkish



The level of the second battery was higher than the level of the Propylaea and of the last part of the ramp. For that reason a ramp was attached to the wall which protected this area from the south; this ramp had an inclination to the east and connected the upper surface of the bastion with the area near the last entrance to the Acropolis. We can see this ramp in Verneda's plan and also in the plan of the Acropolis by Stuart and Revett (Figs. 31. 55) and in the view of the Propylaea by Thürmer (Fig. 53).

THE PROPYLAEA FROM THE CAPTURE OF THE ACROPOLIS BY THE VENETIANS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEKS (1687—1833)

The Venetians occupied Athens for only five months. At the beginning of April 1688 they were obliged to leave, having caused great damage to the monuments of the town and the Acropolis. The Christian inhabitants, who had been allied to the Venetians, also abandoned their homes for fear of reprisals from the Turks. It was the first time after 5,500 years of continuous life that Athens was completely deserted for as long as three years. The Turks returned in 1690 and tried to persuade the Greeks to do the same by reinstating their properties⁵⁵. For the next sixty years or more there is little information about Athens and the Acropolis, but just after the middle of the 18th century the activity of the English architects Stuart and Revett, and the French Le Roy mark the beginning of a period during which Westerners with a real knowledge of antiquity visited Athens and described or illustrated its monuments. The beginning of the 19th century saw an even greater number of travellers and antiquaries coming to Greece.

An anonymous visitor, who came to Athens in 1699⁵⁶, found the town ruined and almost deserted and the fortification of the Acropolis in a bad state with no cannon.

⁵⁵ Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 193 (with a historical bibliography).

⁵⁶ Paton, *Visitors* 155—172. The anonymous diarist was an officer on one of Comte de Ferriol's ships.

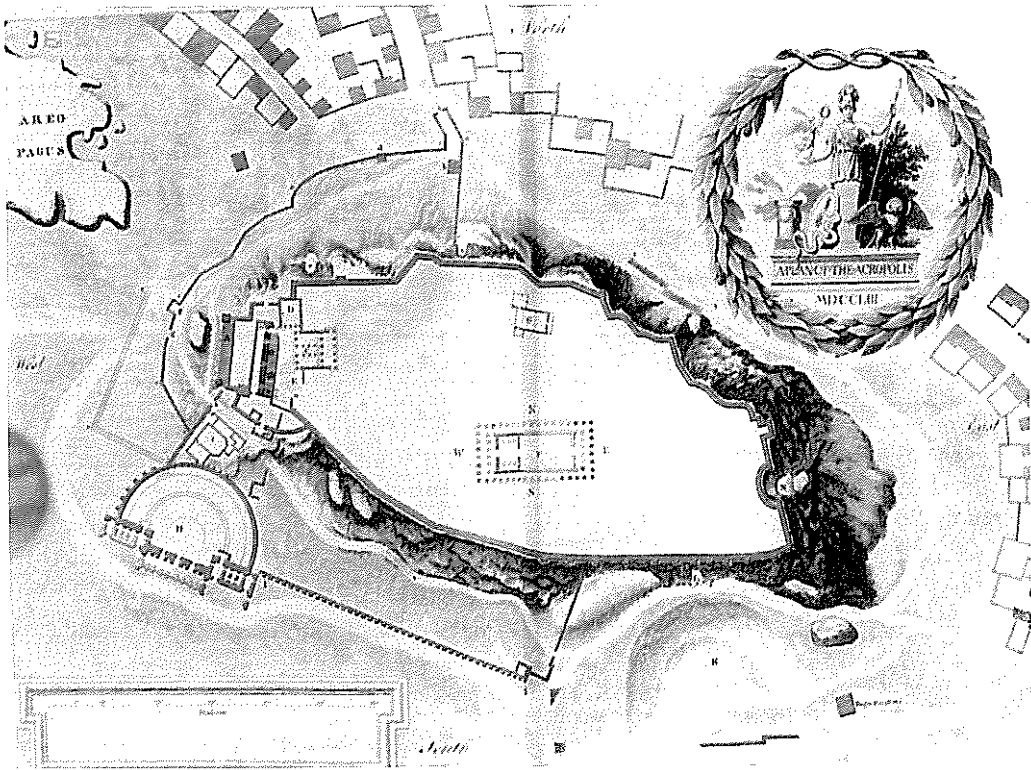


Fig. 31. Plan of the Acropolis (Stuart—Revett, 1753)

The aga was still living in the northern wing, and the central building retained its western front in entirety⁵⁷.

But some time after this visit the Turks decided to repair and reinforce the fortifications. One of the main improvements was the construction of the wall of Hypapanti which, surrounding the western foot of the hill, secured the communication of the Acropolis with the town of Athens. Another major change was the building of a third battery in the Propylaea to dominate the western slope. For this purpose the surviving western front of the central building was taken down to the height of the Doric capitals, and vaults were built in order to provide a horizontal platform for the cannon. The demolition of the remaining parts of the ceiling, the Doric and Ionic entablatures, the Ionic capitals and the surviving parts of the walls of the aga's residence provided a great deal of material for the builders of the vaults. The greater part of the architectural elements has not yet been discovered; presumably many were turned into lime by the Turks, a not uncommon fate for the marbles during that period (Fig. 36).

⁵⁷ Ibid. 165. Later (ibid. 166) speaking about the Parthenon the diarist says that inside the temple one sees only a pile of stones; this means that at that time (1699) the mosque which we know to have existed in the Parthenon until 1842 (see Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 202) had not yet been built.

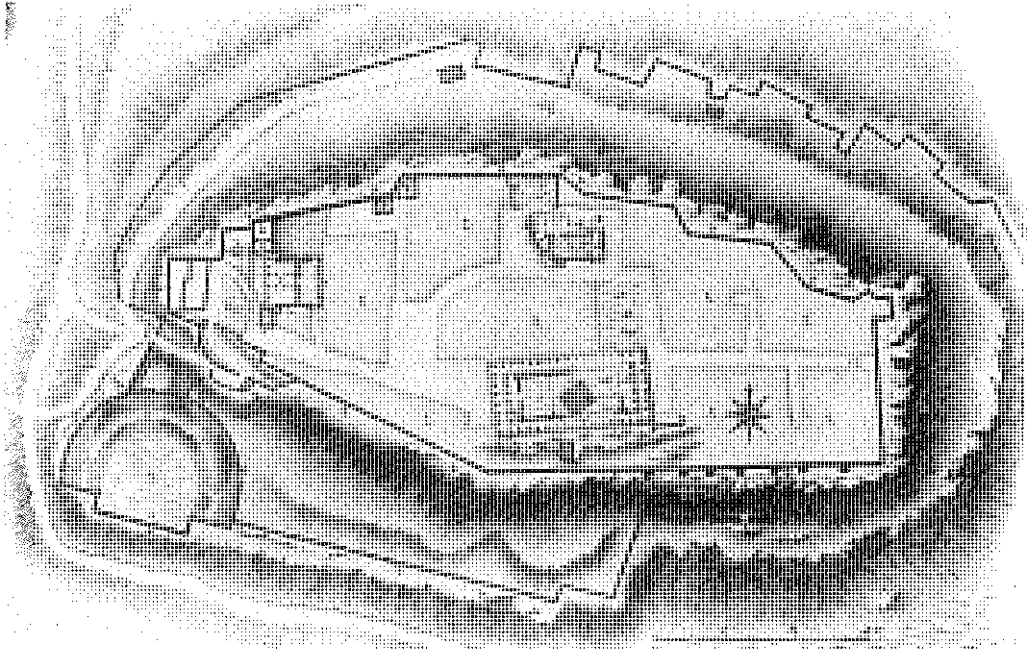


Fig. 32. Plan of the Acropolis (Le Roy, 1755)

We do not know exactly when these alterations took place, but it was certainly after 1699 and before 1738⁵⁸, when the Earl of Sandwich visited the Acropolis; he found the roof and the upper part of the building missing⁵⁹, which implies that the vaults for the battery had already been built. He also saw five of the Ionic columns, »the sixth which ought to form the symmetry being wanting«. This missing column must be the eastern one of the northern colonnade, of which only the base and the two lower drums were found in situ after the removal of the masonry which surrounded them (Fig. 57)⁶⁰. Pococke, who visited Athens in 1740, mentions »rooms under the whole« of the central building of the Propylaea, having of course in mind the rooms under the vaults. He also speaks of three doors on the transversal wall, which means that he could not see the low lateral doors which were hidden by the vaults⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Paul Lucas visited Athens in 1704 and found the town still almost deserted; it seems that he did not visit the Acropolis (see P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grece, l'Asie Mineure, la Macedoine et l'Afrique I* [1712] 284–285). Since it is very probable that the fortifications of the citadel were repaired and reinforced in a period during which the town had been populated again, we could assume that these works took place after 1704.

⁵⁹ J. Montague, *op. cit.* 62.

⁶⁰ N. Balanos, *Les monuments de l'Acropole, relèvement et conservation* (1938) 18.

⁶¹ Pococke, *op. cit.* II 2, 162. Pococke speaks of three doors on the transversal wall but in his plan and view from the east he shows five doors; that probably means that he could see the lateral doors from the rooms under the vaults or that he guessed their existence from their lintels, of which the upper parts were visible from the outside (see Dodwell, *op. cit.* [n. 32] 318).



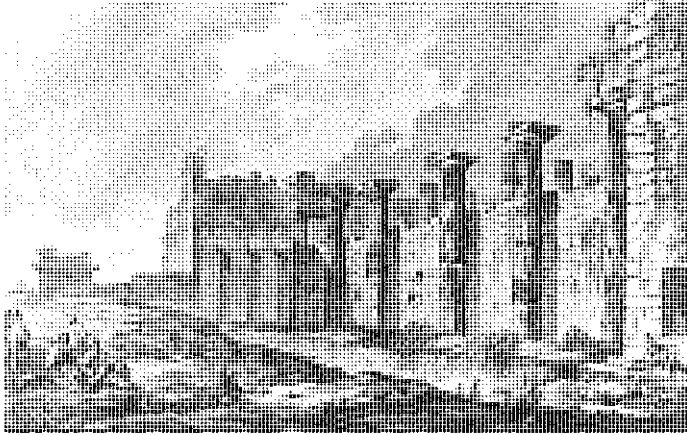
Fig. 33. View of the Acropolis from the southwest (Stuart—Revett, 1753)

James Stuart and Nicholas Revett worked in Athens between 1751 and 1753, producing a number of very fine measured drawings and views of the antiquities. Their plan of the Acropolis and the view from the west, dated 1753, are valuable documents for this study because of the accurate information on the state of the access of the citadel. These, in combination with the explanations, the book of Le Roy who worked at Athens in 1755, and the view of the Propylaea by Pars, dated in 1765, allow us to form a fairly accurate idea of how the Propylaea and their western access looked about the middle of the 18th century⁶².

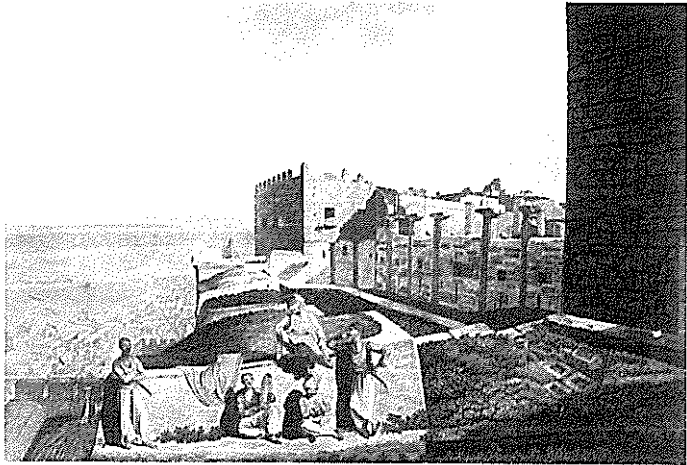
The views by Le Roy (Fig. 34) and by Pars (Fig. 35) are both taken from the south-west corner of the second battery; Pars' view is taken from a higher point and is far more accurate and informative than Le Roy's. The Doric columns are still entire and the walls between them reach to the same height as the *taenia* and *regulae* of the northern wing. Halfway up, they have rectangular openings to provide air and light to the room under the vaults and, below these openings, narrow perpendicular loopholes. The bay between the northern column of the portico of the central building and the northern wing is built up with a wall having a rectangular window, at a height corresponding between the cornice of the northern wing and the architrave of the central building. Between the columns of the central building we can distinguish the cannon. Behind them the extreme west columns of both the Ionic colonnades retain entirely their shafts with the upper astragal while the other three are mutilated⁶³.

⁶² Le Roy was the first among them to publish the result of his work in Greece; his book *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* was published in 1758; in his drawings he sacrifices a good deal of accuracy for picturesque effect but his text is accurate and useful. Stuart and Revett published the first volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1769. The Propylaea were measured only in 1765 by Revett and the drawings were published in the second volume of the *Antiquities* in 1787, together with the view by Pars.

⁶³ Le Roy II 11: »La colonne la moins mutilée de l'intérieur de ce salon, a encore son astragal en haut«.



34. From the southwest area of the second battery (Le Roy, 1755)



35. From the southwest corner of the second battery (W. Pars, 1765)

Figs. 34 and 35. Views of the Propylaea

The vaults in the central building were built on the ruins of the roof which had fallen down during the explosion of 1640. This explains the fact that Le Roy in 1755 and Chandler in 1765 saw the fragments of the roof under the vaults⁶⁴. In constructing the vaults, the lower parts of the Ionic columns were built in rectangular pilasters, as Le Roy mentions⁶⁵. Inside the marble walls of the central building and along them, walls were built to support the vaults; that is why Le Roy could not see the

⁶⁴ Le Roy II 12; R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* (1776) 41.

⁶⁵ Le Roy II 11. For that reason he reconstructed the Ionic columns wrongly with pedestals instead of bases; Stuart—Revett II chap. 5 pl. 4 made the same mistake in the reconstruction of the Ionic columns, for the same reason.

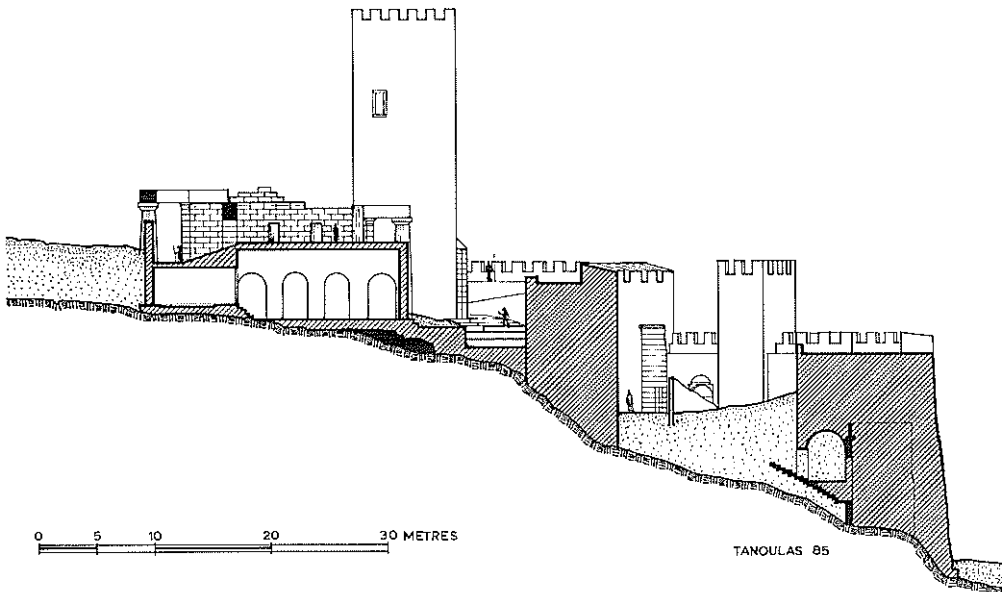


Fig. 36. Central section of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis after the construction of the second battery and of the battery in the Propylaea, looking south. Reconstruction by the author, 1985.

Solid black: classical; hatched: mediaeval or Turkish

dado of Eleusinian marble, as we can assume from his restored section of the Propylaea⁶⁶. The upper surface of the vaults reached the eleventh layer of plinths of the lateral walls. These vaults covered the opening on the southern wall mentioned before which for that reason had to be built up with a rough wall which still survives in place (Fig. 78).

Of the five doors of the transversal wall only the three central ones were evident from the upper surface of the vaults⁶⁷. The larger doorway was still used for communication between the western part of the building and the eastern portico. The ground level of the latter was by four plinth courses lower than that of the western part of the building, as we can see in a view by Smirke (Fig. 38) dated between 1802 and 1804. In this drawing we see also a ramp descending from the central doorway to the eastern portico, and the upper parts of the side doorways which are blocked on their western side; one could descend by a ramp or stairs through the south side doorways to the room under the vaults; we can see the upper part of this ramp or staircase in a view by Gell (Fig. 39). Of the smaller lateral doors of the transversal walls of the central building of the Propylaea only a part of their lintel was visible⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ Le Roy I pl. 12; the dado is not depicted.

⁶⁷ See n. 61; also Le Roy I 12; also Figs. 38–40 of this study.

⁶⁸ See n. 67; see also: Haller von Hallerstein in *Griechenland 1810–1817* (exhibition catalogue Berlin 1986) 94–95 figs. 2. 4. This valuable plan of the western access of the Acropolis including the Propylaea, dated 1810, came to my knowledge lately. In this plan one can see two symmetrical staircases leading from the

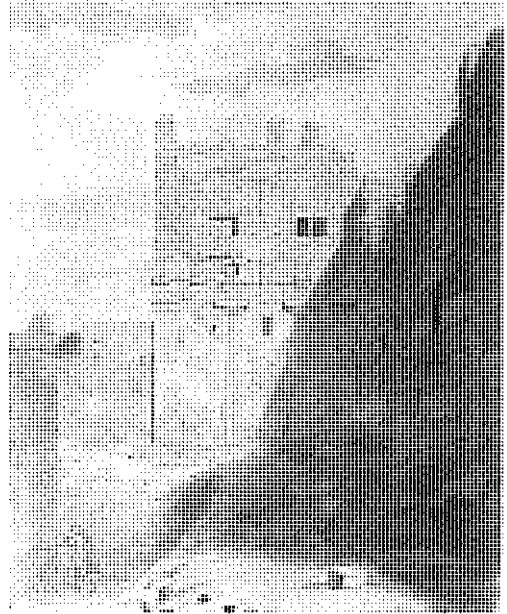


Fig. 37. View of the northern wing of the Propylaea from the southern wing (R. Smirke, between 1801 and 1805)

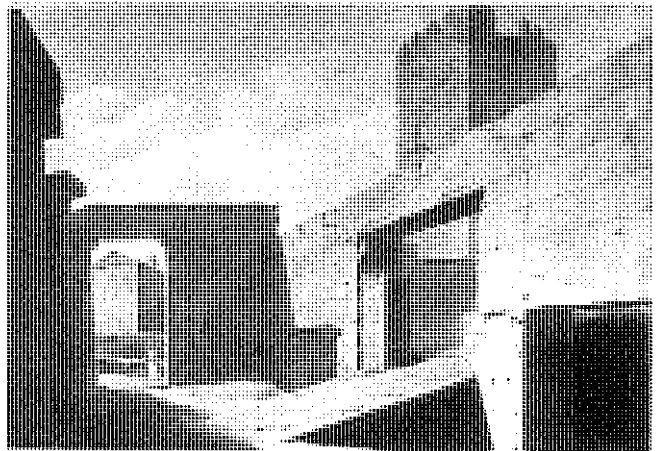


Fig. 38. View in the eastern portico of the Propylaea from its northern end (R. Smirke, between 1801 and 1805)

The colonnade of the eastern portico retained all the columns and capitals but, like the western colonnade, it had been deprived of the entablature. In a view by Gell (Fig. 41) we can see only two parts of the architrave still in place: the one between the southern column and the corresponding pilaster, and the other between

eastern portico of the central building down to the rooms under the vaults. The Ionic colonnades are shown walled up in thick, continuous masonry walls which cover completely the columns and their Ionic bases. The communication of the three rooms thus formed, becomes possible through two openings piercing these walls in the east intercolumniation of each Ionic colonnade. The vaults of both lateral rooms bear three transversal groin vaults, corresponding roughly to the columns. Le Roy II 11 mentions pilasters built around each column instead of continuous walls, but this could have changed in the meantime.

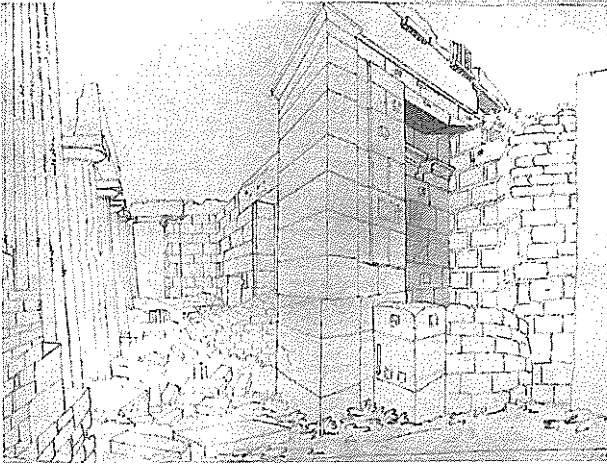


Fig. 39. View of the eastern portico of the Propylaea from the north (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

the second and the third from the north columns. Since Pococke, in his view of the Propylaea from the east, shows the eastern portico without an entablature we can assume that already by 1740 this had greatly diminished. The blocked door which we see in the view by Gell must have been out of use in Le Roy's time (1755) since, in his plan of the Acropolis, he shows the entrance of the Propylaea at the southern side of the eastern portico (Fig. 32); the entrance continued to be there, between the southern column and the corresponding pilaster, at the beginning of the 19th century, as we can see in the already mentioned views of the eastern portico by Smirke and Gell (Figs. 38. 39).

The northern wing of the Propylaea does not seem to have undergone any essential changes, at least in the part which was visible from the outside of the Acropolis. But it was no longer used as a residence and had become a magazine of military stores⁶⁹. Chandler, who visited the Acropolis in 1765, says that this quarter was by his time abandoned and in ruins⁷⁰; but it is possible that Chandler had in mind the extension of the upper lodgings to the east of the northern wing because the marble walls of the northern wing, together with the mediaeval walls above, and the mediaeval vaults of the Pinakothek survived until the liberation⁷¹. In a view of the western part of the Acropolis by Gell, taken from the western pediment of the Parthenon, we can see the area between the northern wing and the central building full of cottages (Fig. 16); J. C. Hobhouse, who visited Athens in 1810, says that this

⁶⁹ Stuart—Revett II 13; see also: Haller von Hallerstein (catalogue) *op. cit.* 94–95 figs. 2. 4. In this plan, dated 1810, becomes obvious that, by this time, there was no communication between the vaulted rooms of the central building and of the northern wing. The latter communicated obviously with the upper level of the vaults of the Late Roman cistern. In the Pinakothek one can see a transversal wall with two openings, but this must be a misinterpretation of the cross-vaulted construction which is most probable to have survived until the mid 1830ies (see n. 25).

⁷⁰ Chandler, *op. cit.* 41.

⁷¹ The medieval constructions in the Pinakothek can be seen in a view of the Propylaea by Martinus Rørbye, in Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, dated 1835 (Fig. 61). For the vaults see n. 25.

Fig. 40. View in the western part of the central building of the Propylaea with the battery, looking south (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

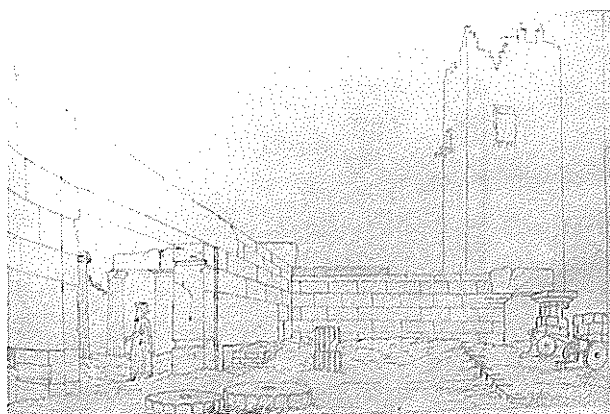
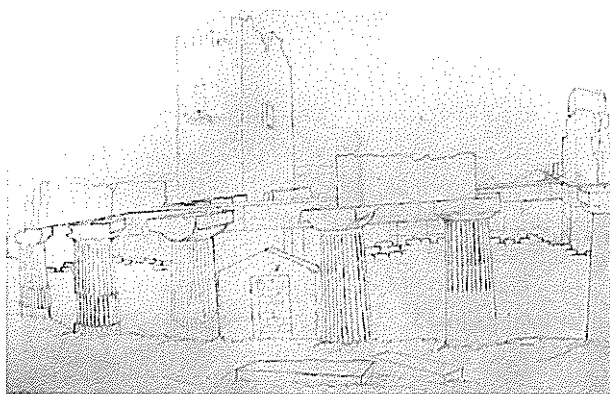


Fig. 41. View of the eastern portico of the Propylaea from the outside (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)



quarter was then buried under accumulated ruins and choked up amongst the mean whitewashed cottages belonging to the few inhabitants of the citadel⁷². It is most probable that the mediaeval constructions in this area, including the massive oblong tower to the northeast of the central building of the Propylaea, was demolished by the Venetians before their departure in 1688 as a part of the defensive fortifications of the Acropolis⁷³.

The southern wing was still occupied by the Frankish tower which was now used as a prison, as Stuart and Revett say in the explanation of their plan of the Acropolis. In Le Roy's view of the Propylaea we can see its entrance on the western wall closed with an iron grill (Fig. 34).

As already mentioned, the plan and view of the Acropolis by Stuart and Revett (Figs. 31, 33) are the main sources for a reconstruction of the western access of the Acropolis about the middle of the 18th century⁷⁴. To the west of the rock we see

⁷² J. C. Hobhouse, *Journey through Albania and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia to Constantinople during the years 1809 and 1810* (1813) 337.

⁷³ See n. 55.

⁷⁴ Le Roy's plan is much less accurate but it helps us to define some points omitted by Stuart and Revett.

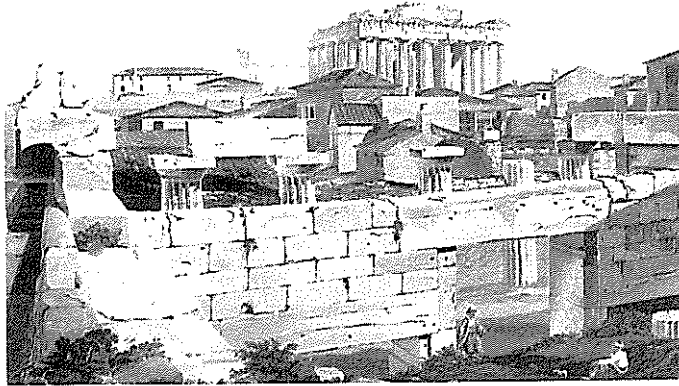


Fig. 42. View of the transversal wall and the eastern portico of the central building of the Propylaea from the northwest area of the building (E. Dodwell, between 1804 and 1806)

the wall of Hypapanti. This wall, about 0.70–0.80 m thick, started from the western side of the wall of Serpentze, and to the south of the first entrance to the citadel. It enclosed the western and part of the northern foot of the rock, reaching close to the church of Hypapanti, after which it took its name, and then turned southwards, ending near the cave of Aglauros; the entrance to this cave had been left outside the wall, serving presumably as a secret access to the Acropolis. It had two entrances from the outside: one faced west to the Turkish graveyard, and there was a low tower near its northern side; the other was on the northeast corner of the wall of Hypapanti, next to the church of Haghios Nikolaos or Seraphim, which was used as a protective tower of the entrance⁷⁵. As said before, we do not know at what time this wall was built after the departure of the Venetians. It must have been built about the same time with the third battery on the Propylaea; that is certainly after 1699 and before 1738 as was proved previously in this chapter. C. Perry, who visited Athens before 1743, says that one enters the route to the fortress of the Acropolis at the northwest of the rock, and then one has to mount the way on the west side, inclining to the North, and then one finds the first gate where the low relief with the two figures holding hands is situated⁷⁶. There is no doubt that he entered by the north gate of the wall of Hypapanti which by that time had been built.

After entering the western gate of the Serpentze one had to one's left the ruins of the mosque, mentioned in the first chapter⁷⁷. On the plan by Stuart and Revett the

⁷⁵ Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 198.

⁷⁶ C. Perry, *A view of the Levant: particularly of the Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece* (1743) 492. 503.

⁷⁷ See above p. 433. In the explanation of the plan of the Acropolis Stuart and Revett say: »ruined moschéa«; in their view of the Acropolis this building is not visible behind the wall of Serpentze; it is depicted complete in the view of the Acropolis published by Fanelli; therefore it must have been ruined some time between 1687 and 1751.

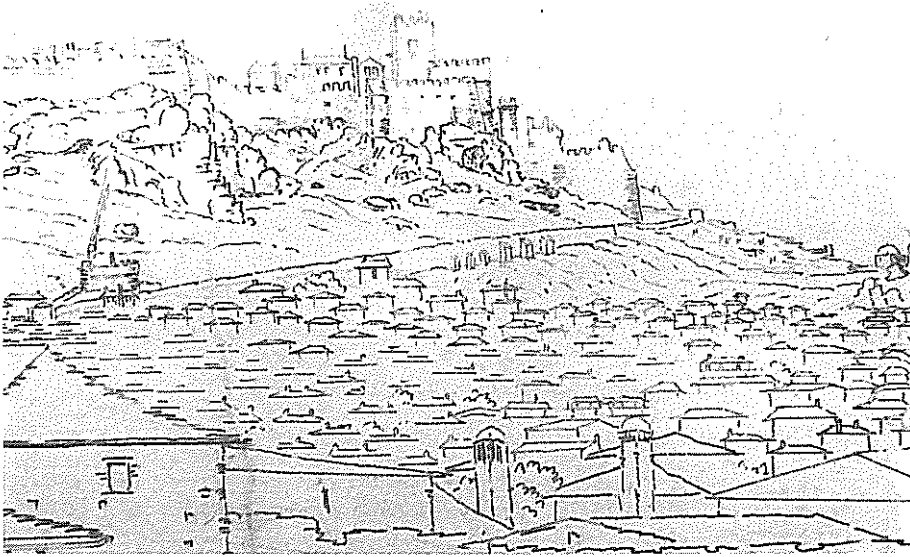


Fig. 43. View of the Acropolis and the wall of Hypapanti from the north, detail (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

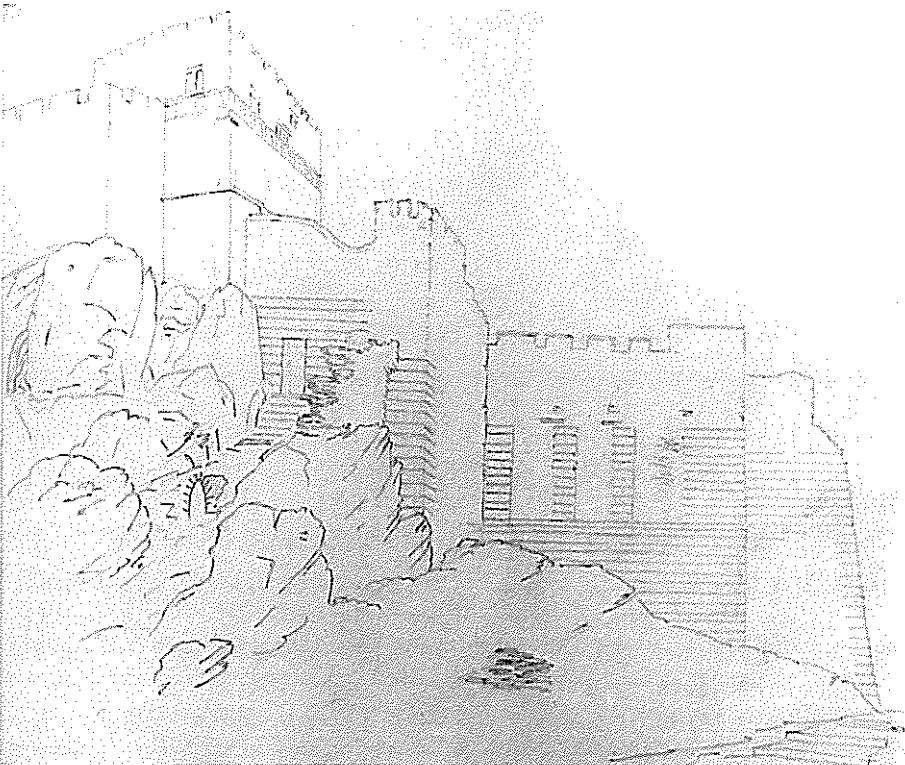


Fig. 44. View of the fortifications of the western access of the Acropolis from the north (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1804)

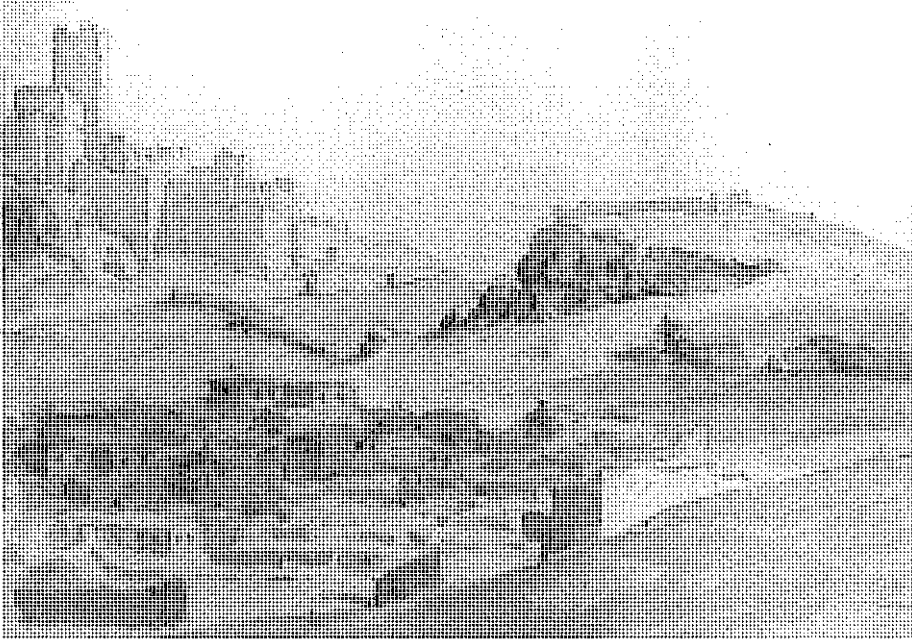


Fig. 45. View of the Propylaea, the western access of the Acropolis and the Areopagus from the northwest. Detail of a drawing including the 'Theseion' (C. R. Cockerell, between 1810 and 1817)



Fig. 46. View of the walls of Hypapanti and Haseki, and the Areopagus from the area of the Klepsydra (C. R. Cockerell, between 1810 and 1817)

house of the guards is shown with a partition to its eastern end, and in the view it has a pent roof as in the 17th century. Of the two houses which existed in the court of the guards in 1687, only one can be seen on the plan by Stuart and Revett to the west of the second gate of the citadel; the eastern part of the court is separated by a wall having its entrance to its northern end. Stuart and Revett do not mention the

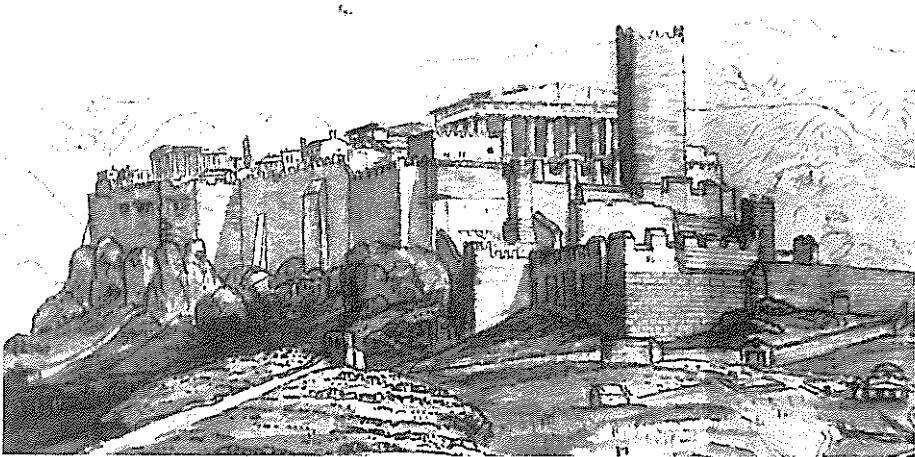


Fig. 47. View of the Acropolis from the Pnyx. Detail of a panorama of Athens from the Pnyx consisting of several pages (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1805)

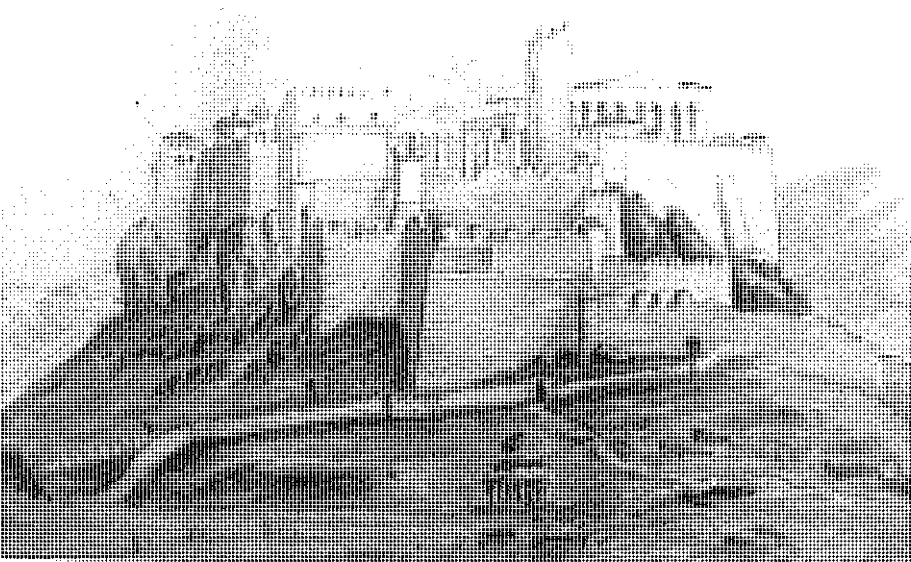


Fig. 48. View of the Acropolis from the Pnyx, detail (W. Gell, after 1805)

foundations of the Propylaea and the eagle which Spon and Wheler had seen from that court; the southwest corner and the southern front of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike must have been destroyed by that time, together with the fragment of the parapet and the second house of the court of the guards, since this is omitted in the plan by Stuart and Revett⁷⁸. As we can see on this plan and in the view by

⁷⁸ The southwest corner and southern front of the podium are missing in the view by Gell (Fig. 24) made about fifty years after Stuart and Revett had been working in Athens. The second house of the court of the

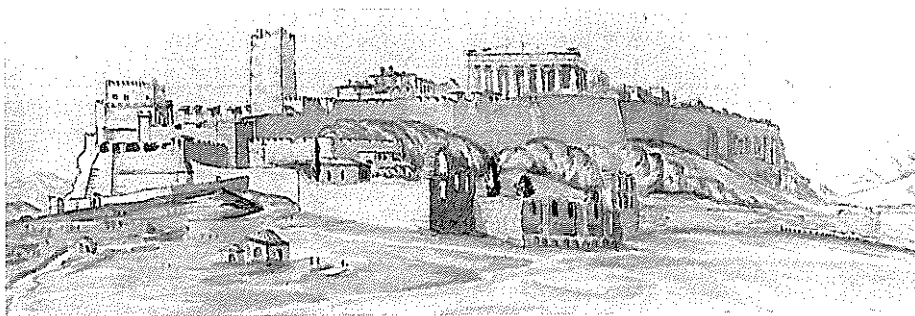


Fig. 49. View of the Acropolis from the southwest (W. Gell, between 1801 and 1805)

Pars, the northern end of the ramp between the first and the second battery was closed by that time⁷⁹. At the southwest corner of the first grand battery a small guard-house appears for the first time in Stuart and Revett's view of the Acropolis and will be found in all the later views of the Acropolis until the liberation (Figs. 22. 47–50). In 1778, on the initiative of the Turkish ruler of Athens, Haseki, a wall was built surrounding the town. It started from the wall of the Hypapanti near the ancient fountain Klepsydra, continuing for a while to the northwest, passing over the Areopagus⁸⁰.

In the early 19th century there was a great increase in the number of travellers visiting Greece and especially Athens. Many were talented artists and knowledgeable about antiquity, and from them we have drawings and descriptions of Athens and its monuments either published in monumental volumes or preserved in museums and libraries. From these sources we have a good deal of information for the last phase of the period which we examine in this chapter.

E. Dodwell, who arrived in Athens in 1801, says that of the six Doric columns which formed the front of the Propylaea only two had preserved their capitals, and some of the upper drums had been thrown down by the Turks a short time before his arrival at Athens⁸¹. In a drawing by Th. Hope who was at Athens in 1799⁸², we see that the columns had already lost their capitals. Hobhouse says that the late

guards which in Verneda's plan is attached to the south of this podium may have been destroyed at the same time; could they not have been bombed by the Venetians in 1687?

⁷⁹ See also Gell's drawings (Figs. 24. 25). Stuart and Revett are probably wrong in showing the wall which enclosed the ramp as starting from the northwest corner of the pedestal of Agrippa; compare their plan (Fig. 31) with the views by Gell and the plans by Verneda and Le Roy (Figs. 8. 24. 25. 32).

⁸⁰ The conjunction of the new wall with the wall of Hypapanti can be seen in some early 19th century drawings by Gell and Cockerell (Figs. 43. 45. 46).

⁸¹ Dodwell, *op. cit.* (n. 32) 313.

⁸² D. Watkin, *Thomas Hope (1769–1831) and the Neo-Classical Idea* (1968) 277. Watkin states that the drawings appeared (ca. 1930) in a sale catalogue and then disappeared. The volumes were discovered recently by Miss Fani-Maria Tsigakou in the Library of the Benaki Museum, Athens, during the course of rearrangements there. The drawings are now part of the Collection of the Benaki Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. They have been published in: F.-M. Tsigakou, *Thomas Hope. Pictures from 18th c. Greece* (1985).

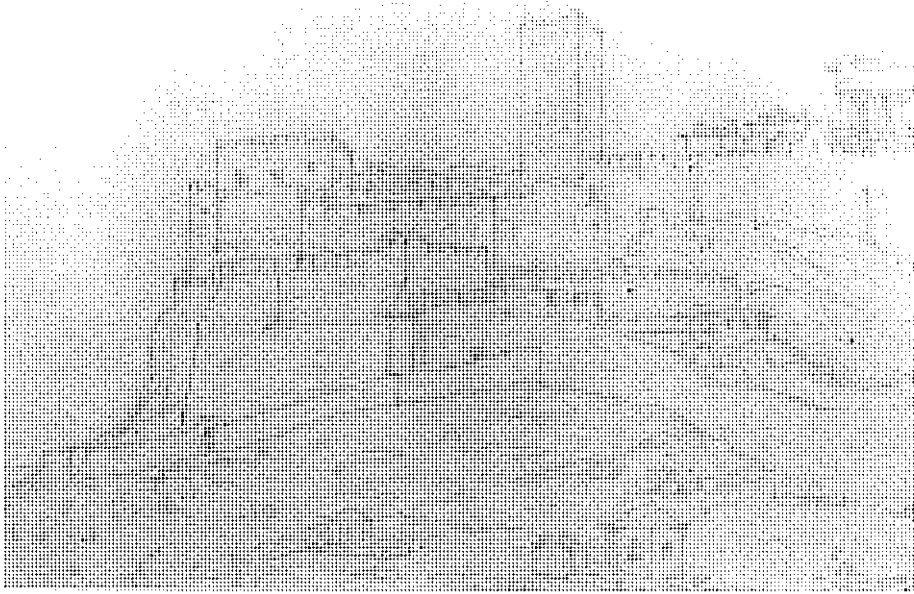


Fig. 50. View of the Acropolis from the southwest, detail (C. R. Cockerell, between 1810 and 1817)

Sultan Selim had offered three cannon which were placed over the Propylaea; since this Sultan must be Selim III who reigned from 1789 to 1808, we can assume that the capitals and upper drums of the columns were removed between 1789 and 1799 for the placement of the new cannon⁸³. In a view by Gell (Fig. 15) we can see the shafts of the four central Doric columns taken down; the three upper drums are missing and the remaining parts of the shafts are slightly higher than the walls between the columns. In the central and the two southern intercolumniations three embrasures for the cannon have been opened. In a drawing by C. Haller von Hallerstein of about 1810⁸⁴ we see the building in the same state. But in the views by L. Dupré, J. Thürmer and W. Kinnard (Figs. 52–54, all ca. 1819) we see embrasures built above the remaining height of the columns, leaving five openings for cannon. In the views of the terrace in the central building where the battery stood, as shown by Gell and Smirke between 1801 and 1805 (Figs. 38. 40) we see that the parts of the Ionic columns above the ground of the terrace were also removed, except two drums in the extreme east column of the southern Ionic colonnade; but in the view by Dodwell (Fig. 42)⁸⁵ the upper drum is missing. It had been removed by Lord Elgin's men together with the capital of the second Doric column from the south of the eastern portico of the central building⁸⁶.

⁸³ L. et R. Matton, *Athènes et ses monuments du XVIIe siècle à nos jours* (1963) 94.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* fig. 12 bis. The drawing belongs to the Bibliothèque Universitaire, Strasbourg.

⁸⁵ E. Dodwell, *Views in Greece from drawings* (1821) pl. 7, view of the Parthenon from the Propylaea.

⁸⁶ In Gell's view of the Eastern portico of the Propylaea (Fig. 41) this Doric capital still exists in place; in Dodwell's view (Fig. 42) it is missing. Since they both were in Athens during the activity of Lord Elgin's

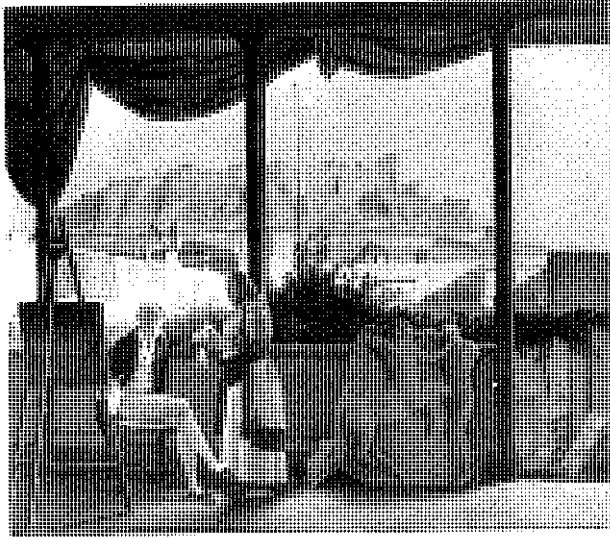


Fig. 51. The northern side of the Acropolis as seen from Fauvel's house (L. Dupré, 1819)

In 1805 a low battery was built attached to the south of the first grand battery; it had three cannon to the south and three to the west and extended over the old first gate, inside which an oblong vaulted passage had to be built; this passage became known as the Tholikon⁸⁷. In order to obtain building material the disdar ordered the demolition of the mediaeval terrace in front of the central building of the Propylaea and the Pinakothekē. So the steps of the foundations were revealed and could now be observed and studied (Figs. 53, 54). C. R. Cockerell and others made some small excavations under the vaults of the central building of the Propylaea, which allowed the definition of the inclined central passage of the central building and the form of the bases of the Ionic columns⁸⁸.

men on the Acropolis, these capital and column drums are presumably the ones transferred to England and now exhibited in the British Museum, in the same room with a block of the upper cornice of the lateral walls of the Propylaea and an anta capital and an angle column capital from the Temple of Athena Nike. For more information about Lord Elgin and his activity in Athens, see I. Gennadios, 'Ο Λόρδος Έλγιν και οί πρό αυτό άνά την Έλλάδα και τās 'Αθήνας ιδίως άρχαιολογήσαντες επίδρομείς 1440—1837 (1930); W. Saint-Claire, Lord Elgin and the marbles (1967); C. P. Bracken, Antiquities acquired. The spoliation of Greece (1975). In a drawing by Haller von Hallerstein from about 1810 (see n. 84) the Ionic column of the Propylaea mentioned before seems to have lost another drum, since it does not project above the ground floor.

⁸⁷ Travlos, Πολεοδομική 204, 206 fig. 138. Inside the gate a Turkish inscription was immured, carved on a piece of architrave from the Erechtheion to the west of which it is placed today. A plan of the new low battery made by Cockerell (Fig. 58) is published in: W. M. Leake, The topography of Athens with some remarks on its Antiquity (1821) 172; for a plan and a western elevation of the Acropolis see Figs. 70, 71 of this study, where remains of the structure can be distinguished.

⁸⁸ Stuart—Revett II 100, note continuing the note 'a' of p. 99. Also in the Supplementary to the above: Antiquities of Athens and Delos, illustrated by W. Kinnard, 3—5. See also Leake, op. cit. 181 n. 1.

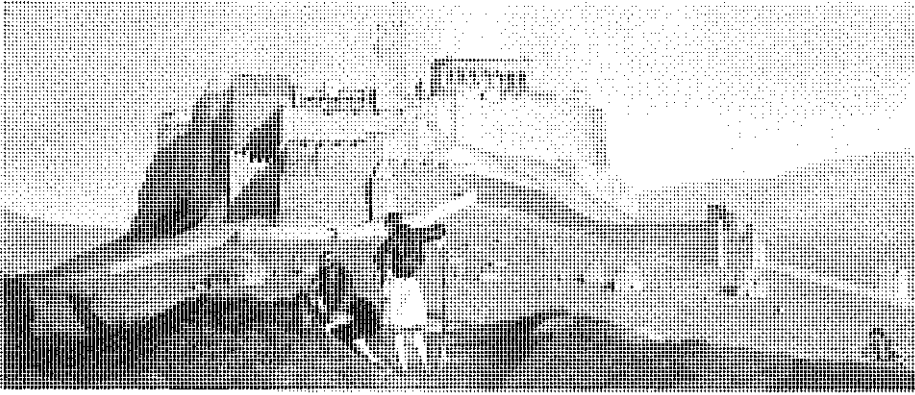


Fig. 52. View of the Acropolis from the west (L. Dupré, 1819)

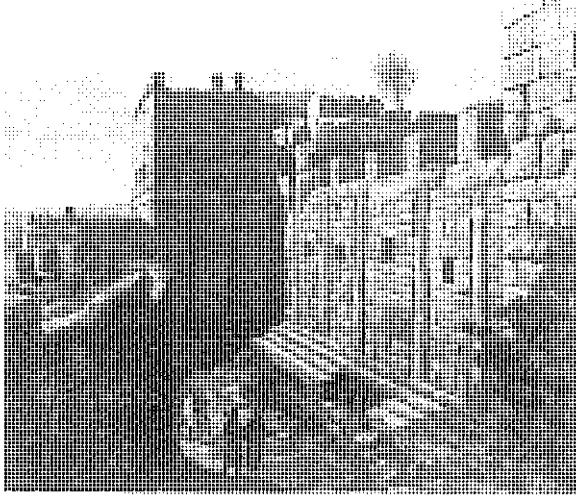


Fig. 53. View of the Propylaea from the southern wall of the Acropolis (J. Thürmer, 1819)

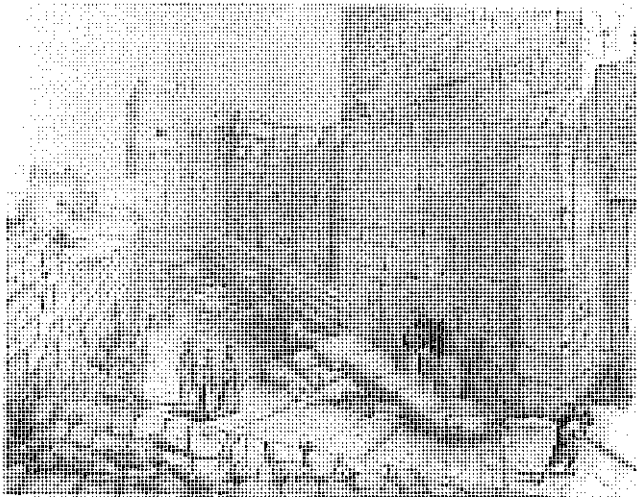


Fig. 54. View of the Propylaea from the southern wall of the Acropolis (W. Kinnard, ca. 1820)

After having crossed the Tholikon one found on the right the mosque which had been restored and brought back to use, since we can see it with a roof in all the views of the beginning of the century (Figs. 22. 49. 50)⁸⁹. The guard-house now had a hipped roof and an open verandah to its east end as we can see in Gell's views

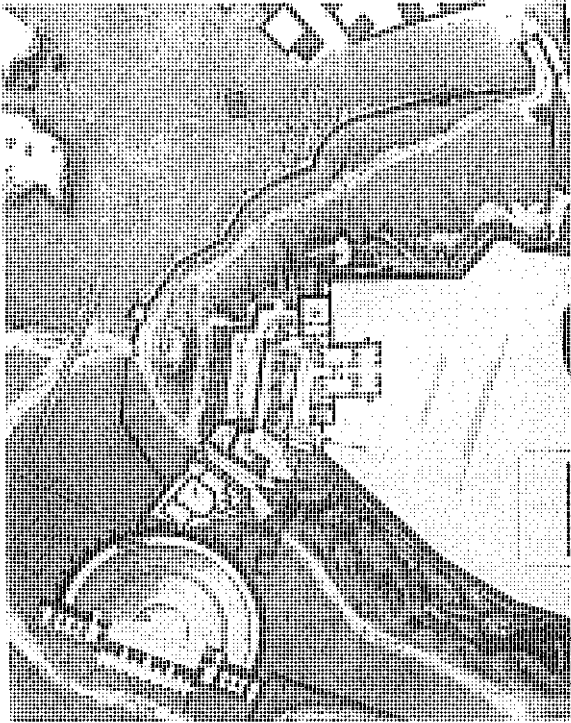


Fig. 55. A plan of the western part of the Acropolis. Detail of a plan of the Acropolis (Stuart – Revett, revised by W. Kinnard, ca. 1820)



Fig. 56. View of the ramp in the central building of the Propylaea from the architrave of the eastern portico (1978)

(Figs. 22. 49. 50). In Cockerell's plan published by Leake (Fig. 58) we can see in the court of the guards the house to the west of the second gate with an extension along the walls; on two views by Dupré (Fig. 52)⁹⁰ we can see its upper floor and roof emerging above the walls. Again in Cockerell's plan (Fig. 58) opposite the second gate a small room is attached on the rock under the southern wall of the Acropolis.

⁸⁹ See also E. Dodwell, *A classical and topographical tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806 I* (1819) 310: »The first building on the right hand is a small tekkie, or mosque, without a minaret, situated above the theatre of Regilla«; he does not mention it as a ruin.

⁹⁰ L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople* (1825) pl. 22. 23. The view not included in the present study, is taken from the Ilissos area. The plan of the court of the guards can be seen in Figs. 70. 80 of this study. On the revised plan of the Acropolis (Fig. 55) of the second edition of Stuart and Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens*, this house is heavily shaded, in the way only the towers are on the same plan; as this plan is based on documents taken shortly before 1821 (Dupré's views date in 1819) this building must have received a second floor about that time, in order to defend the second gate.

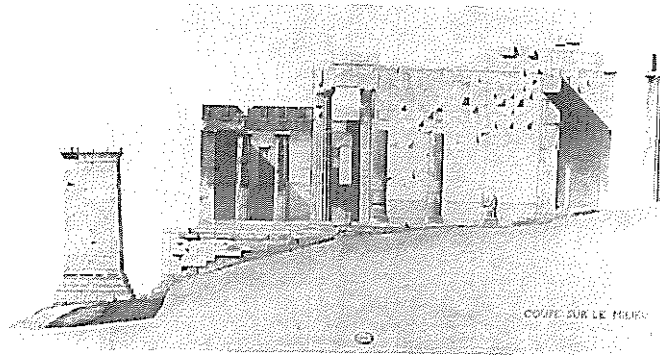


Fig. 57. Central section of the Propylaea looking to the north
(P. Desbuisson, 1848)

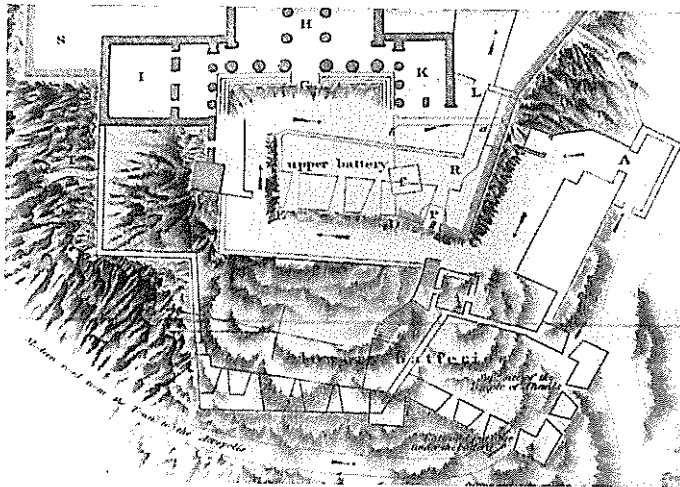


Fig. 58. Plan of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis
(C. R. Cockerell, between 1810 and 1817)

At this time, the tower to the west side of the third door retains its southern and partly its western fronts, but it seems ruined from the inside as we see in a view by Gell for the first time and in some later views (Figs. 24. 52).

Before the Greek revolution, the western access of the Acropolis was equipped with nineteen cannon; six at the low new battery, four at the first grand battery, four at the middle battery and five at the upper battery in the Propylaea. The Athenians revolted and easily took possession of the town on 7 May 1821; after a long siege they captured the Acropolis on 10 June 1822. Odysseus Androutsos, the commander of Athens, decided to repair the fortifications of the citadel and render it self-sufficient for water. The investigations led to the discovery of the ancient fountain Klepsydra below the northwest corner of the Pinakotheké by the archaeolo-

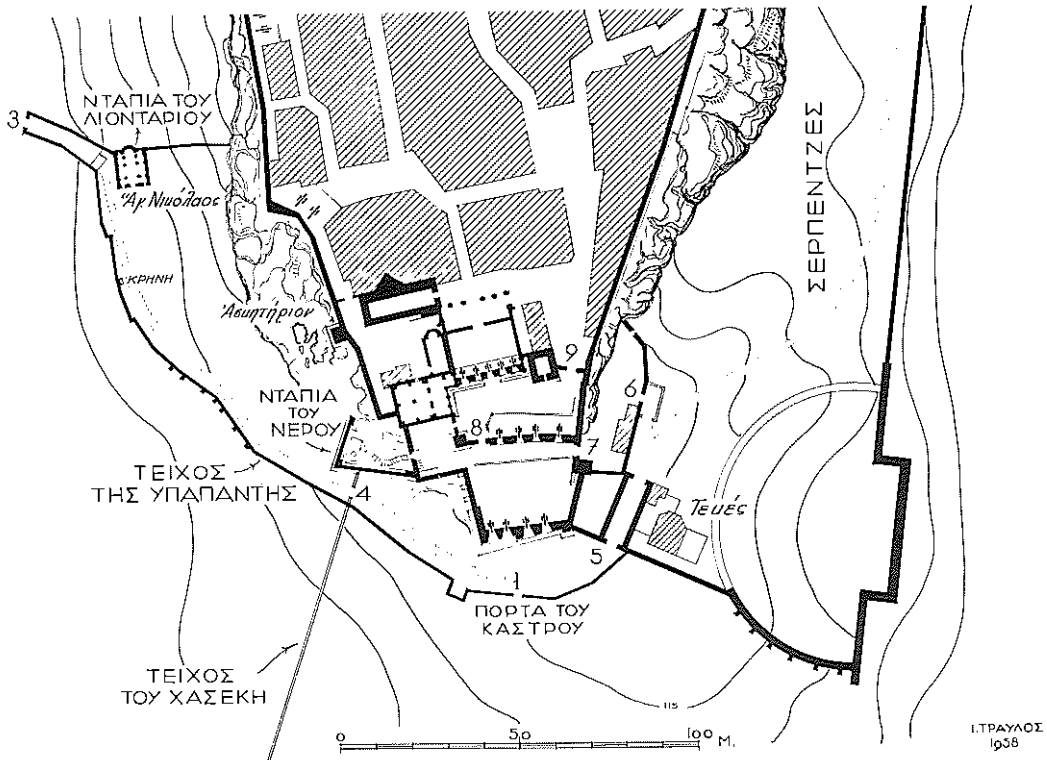


Fig. 59. Plan of the western part of the Acropolis during the Greek revolution. Detail of a general plan of the Acropolis in that period. Reconstruction by J. Travlos, 1960

gist K. S. Pittakis⁹¹. The area was surrounded by a wall to the west and north; the Byzantine opening on the northern wall of the court to the north of the pedestal of Agrippa was liberated of the later wall which blocked it. A new staircase, starting from this opening, was constructed, leading to the top of the vault of a Byzantine church over the Klepsydra; a well was pierced in the vault and so the water was accessible through older tubes opened in lower levels by the Byzantines and the Franks. A new vault was constructed over the well and the bastion was filled with a solid construction; so the besieged could draw water safely, and the initiative of Androutsos proved very efficient. The bastion is illustrated in all the views of the Acropolis previous to its demolition in 1836⁹². During the occupation of the Acropolis by the Greeks (1822–1827) a shed was built over the battery of the Propylaea as well as a watch tower on the pedestal of Agrippa⁹³. Another construction of this

⁹¹ Travlos, Πολεοδομική 228–229.

⁹² For a detailed description of the fortifications of the Klepsydra in 1822, see E. Burnouf, *La ville et l'Acropole d'Athènes aux diverses époques* (1877) 39–46 pls. 3. 14–16. 19. 20. Burnouf excavated the area in 1874. For a complete study of the Klepsydra see A. Parsons, *Hesperia* 12, 1943, 191–267. For the fortifications of the Klepsydra see Figs. 79. 80 of this study.

⁹³ Stuart–Revett II 100, note continuing the note 'a' of p. 99.

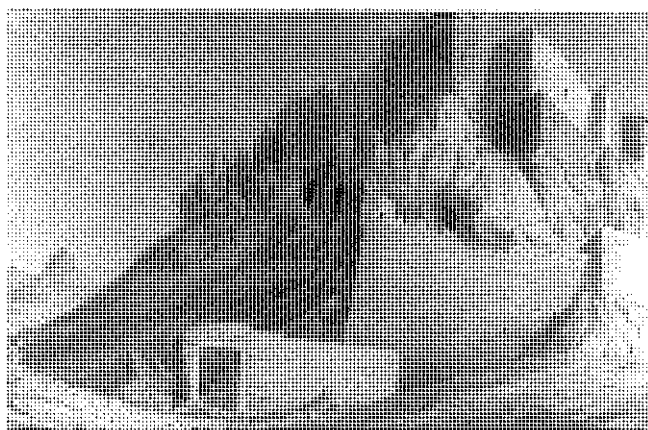


Fig. 60. The area of the Klepsydra from the northwest
(J. Skene, 1843)

time must have been the extension of the wall of Haseki, which connected it with the new fortification of the Klepsydra (Fig. 60), since this part of the wall of Haseki inside the wall at Hypapanti is not visible in the earlier views of this area, the latest of them being in 1819 (Fig. 51).

THE PROPYLAEA FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GREEKS UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE ACROPOLIS (1833–1890)

On 3 February 1830 the Protocol of London was signed in which Greece was recognized as an independent free state. But the Turkish garrison did not leave the Acropolis until 1 April 1833. Almost immediately archaeological activity started on the Acropolis: in April and May the Greek archaeologist Kyriakos Pittakis excavated in the Parthenon and found inscriptions and four slabs of the Parthenon frieze; in July he started to collect the inscriptions and fragments of sculpture which were dispersed on the Acropolis and placed them in the Propylaea. At the beginning of 1834 he made some excavations outside the Acropolis on its southwest slope, and at the beginning of August in the same year he was digging in the Parthenon and the Propylaea. But these excavations were stopped after a while in order to commence again in a more systematic manner⁹⁴.

The arrival of the celebrated German architect Leo von Klenze at Athens in July 1834 marked a new period of interest for the Greek monuments. After his suggestions, a royal order was signed on 18 August 1834, with which the Acropolis ceased to serve any military purpose; he also proposed excavations on the Acropolis, demolition of

⁹⁴ Travlos, *Πολεοδομική* 235; Cavvadias–Kawerau 1–2. This book preceded by a historic account of the works and the excavations on the Acropolis from 1833 until 1884 is the main source of information for this period.

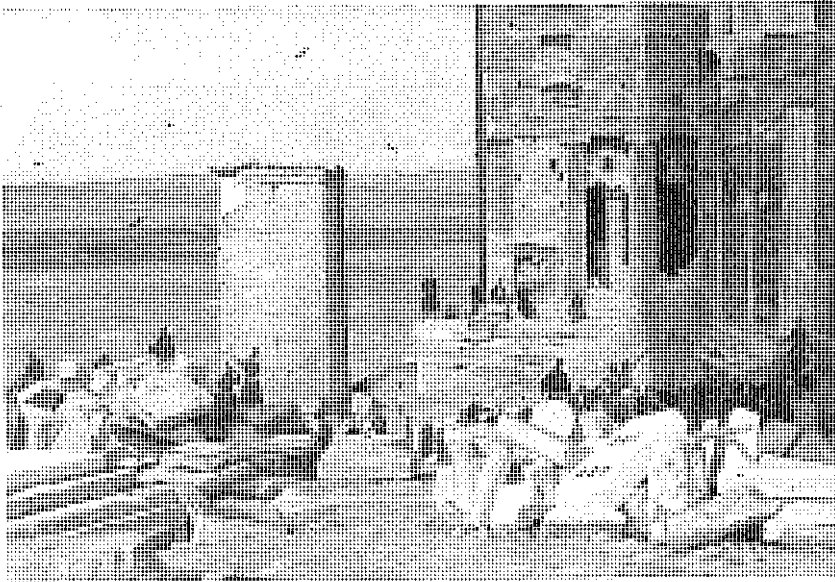


Fig. 61. View of the northern wing of the Propylaea during the demolition of the second bastion (M. Rørbye, 1835)

the mediaeval and Turkish additions, and reconstruction of the classical monuments and especially the Parthenon. The garrison of Bavarian soldiers, that was established in the citadel after the departure of the Turks, evacuated the Acropolis on 30 March 1835; so the Acropolis came under the jurisdiction of the Archaeological Service.

But even before that, archaeological activity had started on the Acropolis; Klenze himself directed some excavations in the Parthenon and the Propylaea and assisted the ceremony of the symbolic inauguration of the restoration of the Parthenon on 10 September 1834. Klenze left Greece later in that year and the German archaeologist Ludwig Ross was appointed General Ephor (Inspector) of the Antiquities. He arranged the employment of six guards, and a guard-house was built specially for them⁹⁵. This is the house which we can see in the first low battery over the Tholikon, visible on all the illustrations of this part of the Acropolis since (Figs. 66. 71. 73. 79). In January 1835 Ross started excavating on the Acropolis, in collaboration with the architects E. Schaubert and Ch. Hansen and continued until July 1836.

But it was not until the evacuation of the Acropolis by the army that the systematic demolition of the later buildings commenced. The first building to be demolished was the bastion connecting the pedestal of Agrippa to the podium of Athena Nike (Figs. 61. 62). This undertaking was very fruitful because the crepis of the temple was found in situ, and practically all its architectural members and some fragments of the parapet⁹⁶ were found built into the bastion. This permitted the restoration of

⁹⁵ Cavvadias—Kawerau 3—8.

⁹⁶ E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes I* (1853) 252—253.



Fig. 62. The fourth gate of the Acropolis, the pedestal of Agrippa and the northern wing of the Propylaea (K. W. von Heideck, 1835)

this elegant Ionic building, which started in December 1835 and lasted almost one year. But in this phase the restoration of the temple was not completed (Fig. 63–65)⁹⁷. In the same bastion were also found architectural members of the Propylaea, inscriptions, slabs of the great Roman staircase which led to the Propylaea, and also parts of this staircase in situ.

But in July 1836, after a disagreement with the Greek authorities, Ross had to resign from his post in which he was succeeded by the Greek K. Pittakis, who continued the works on the Acropolis without any interruption until 1842. During 1836 and 1837, the Propylaea were liberated from the greater part of the later constructions, including the mediaeval vaults in the Pinakothek and the Turkish vaults in the central building; the greater part of the ground in the Propylaea was also excavated⁹⁸.

In 1838 the clearance of the eastern portico was completed (Figs. 67–69) and excavations started in front of the eastern portico of the Propylaea. In 1839 the whole area between the eastern end of the Propylaea and the western front of the Parthenon was cleared; in a view of this area by J. Skene dating between 1840 and 1844 we can see this area cleaned of the ruins of the Turkish houses (Fig. 67). From

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*; see also L. Ross—E. Schaubert—C. Hansen, *Der Tempel der Nike Apteros* (1839; Nike Apteros in Greek means Wingless Victory and the temple is still commonly known under this name after the traveller of the 2nd century A. D., Pausanias); K. S. Pittakis, *L'Ancienne Athènes* (1835) 242; *Prakt* 1837, 6.

⁹⁸ Cavvadias—Kawerau 9–10; *AEphem* 1853, 938–939, where Pittakis interprets the vaults in the eastern portico of the Propylaea as the vaults of a Byzantine church. Pittakis must also have set an Ionic column free from the Turkish masonry which enclosed it in 1834, see Pittakis, *op. cit.* 237.

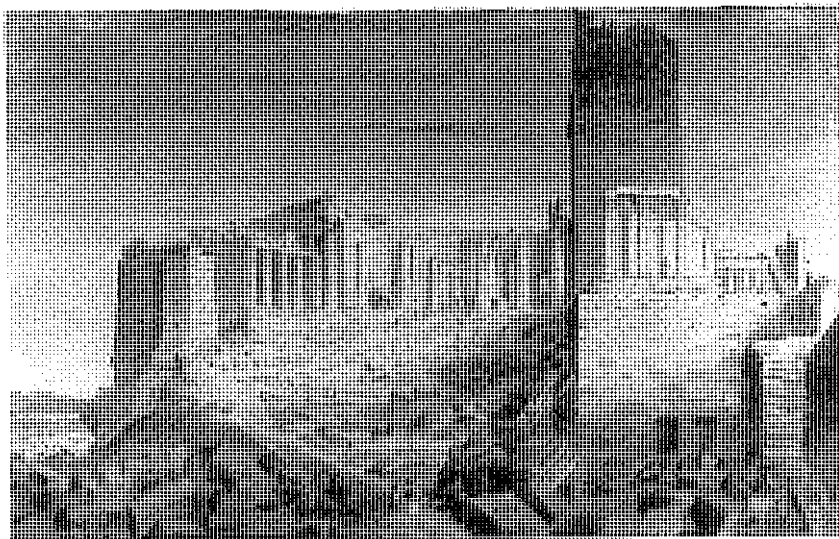


Fig. 63. The Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis after the demolition of the second bastion and the partial restoration of the Temple of Athena Nike (J. Skene, 30 May 1838)

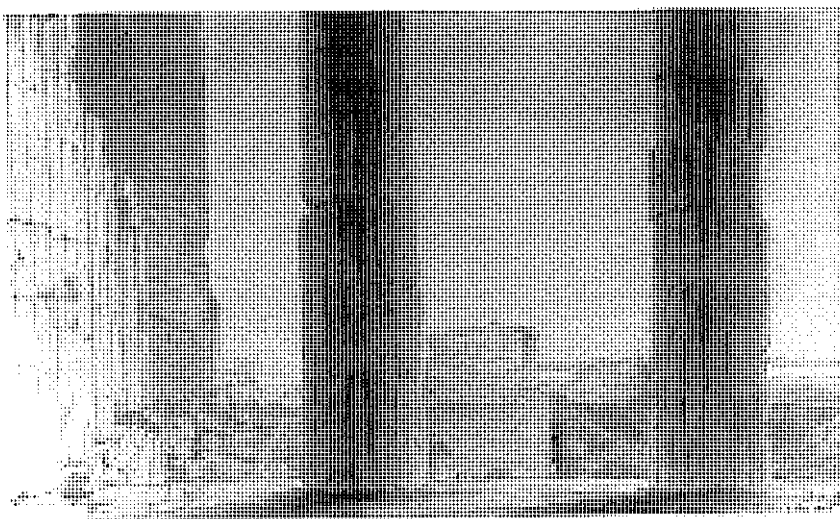


Fig. 64. The Frankish tower and the partially restored Temple of Athena Nike. View through the colonnade of the northern wing of the Propylaea (J. Skene, 4 June 1848)

1841 the works on the Acropolis were undertaken by the Archaeological Society of Athens, which was founded in 1837⁹⁹.

⁹⁹ In a drawing by F. Arundale (British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Miscellaneous Drawings; published in: F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* [1979] fig. 5) dated 1834 we can see the same area filled with the ruins of Turkish houses. On the organization of the Society: *Prakt* 1837, 10–15;

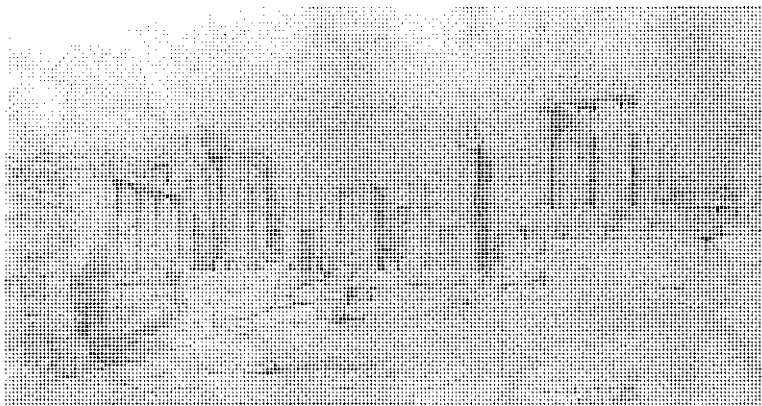


Fig. 65. View of the Propylaea and the Temple of Athena Nike before the completion of the restoration of the latter, inscribed «5 May 1842» (F. Arundale, 1842)



Fig. 66. The Temple of Athena Nike from the southeast, inscribed «Temple of Victory Athena 10 March 1844» (J. Skene, 1844)

During the years 1843 and 1844 the restoration of the Temple of Athena Nike came to an end; the southern and western walls, which had been built up only to the half of their height, were completed; all the epistyles of the temple, the beams connecting the cella with the porticoes, the coffers, the southern pier and the southwestern column, were put in their place; the capital of the latter was made new because the original one had not been discovered (Fig. 66)¹⁰⁰.

By the end of 1845 the French architects A. Titeux, Th. Ballu and A. Paccard, holders of scholarship of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* of Paris, made an excavation near the pedestal of Agrippa and discovered inscriptions and a

Cavvadias—Kawerau 9—10; Kokkou 99, with a bibliography on the history of the Archaeological Society of Athens.

¹⁰⁰ Prakt 1844, 180; Cavvadias—Kawerau 11—12.

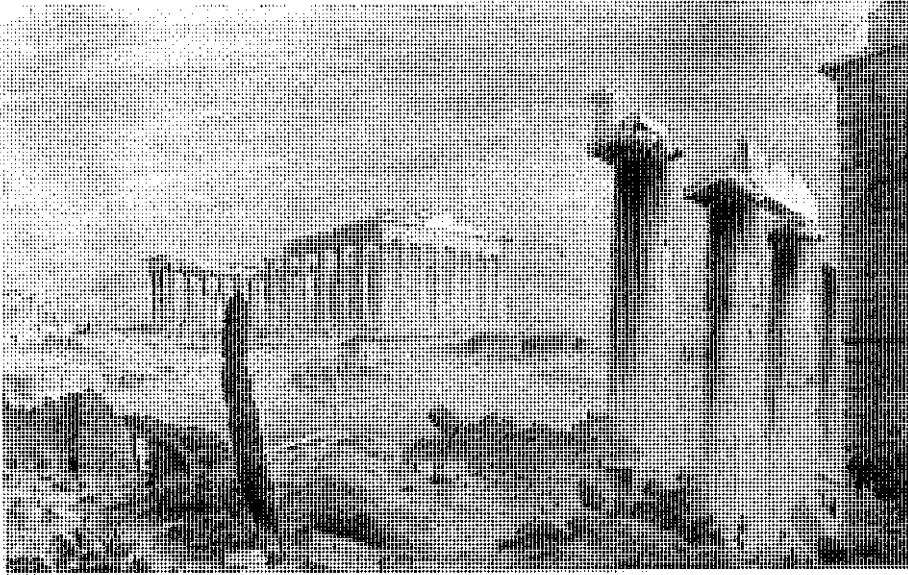


Fig. 67. The interior of the Acropolis from the area to the north of the central building, the ruins of the massive oblong tower at the foreground (J. Skene, between 1840 and 1844)

step of the Roman marble staircase in situ. The Archaeological Society continued the excavation and found some more inscriptions¹⁰¹. During that year the British Museum sent four plaster casts of the pieces of the frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike which had been brought to London by Lord Elgin in 1804¹⁰². Three of the casts were put in the place of the missing originals in 1847, but the fourth fell down during its raising and was smashed; another cast was sent by the British Museum and put on the temple in 1848¹⁰³.

In the same year the Archaeological Society made an extensive excavation to the northeast of the Propylaea hoping for rich finds¹⁰⁴. During that year the French architect P. Desbuisson, holder of a scholarship of the *École des Beaux-Arts* of Paris, came to Athens and worked at the Propylaea. In his plan (Fig. 18) we can see that at that time the remains of the massive mediaeval tower which closed the eastern side of the area between the central building and the northern wing of the Propylaea were still surviving; we can also see the plan of small buildings attached on the external side of the Propylaea, over the post-Roman cistern, poor successors of the Byzantine church and the extension of the upper lodgings of the Frankish dukes¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰¹ Prakt 1846, 226; *AEphem* 1853, 939 n. 1; Cavvadias—Kawerau 11—12. — The very fine measured drawings of the Propylaea by P. Titeux and L. Chaudet are in the Collection of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* and are published in *Paris—Rome—Athènes* 172—177; they illustrate only the remains of the classical building, omitting completely the remains of the later additions.

¹⁰² Prakt 1846, 230.

¹⁰³ Prakt 1847, 318. 320. 321; Prakt 1849, 10.

¹⁰⁴ Prakt 1849, 10.

¹⁰⁵ The measured drawings by Desbuisson are in the Collection of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* and are published in *Paris—Rome—Athènes* 188—193.

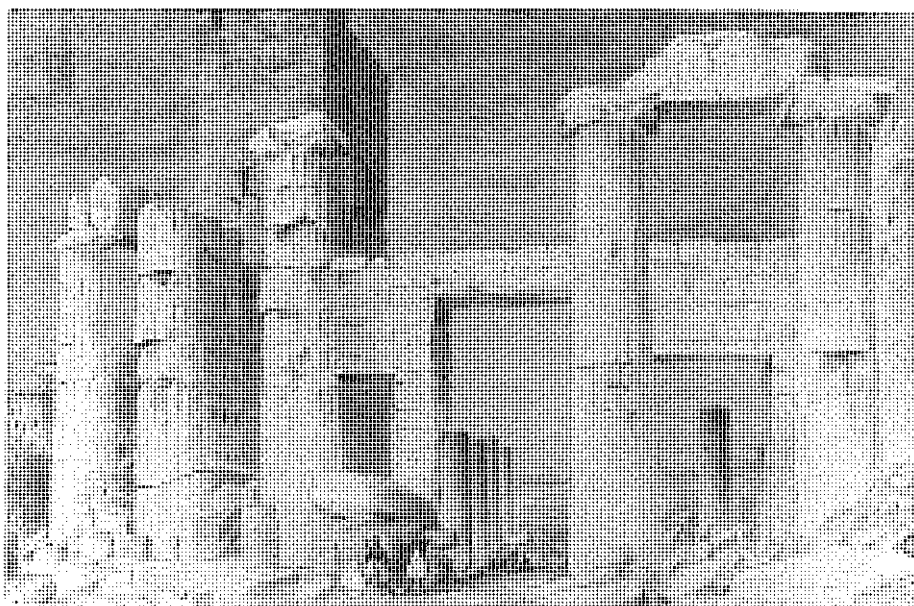


Fig. 68. View of the Propylaea from the east after the clearance of the center of the central building (J. Skene, 1839)



Fig. 69. View of the Propylaea from the east (signed: Robertson, ca. 1855)

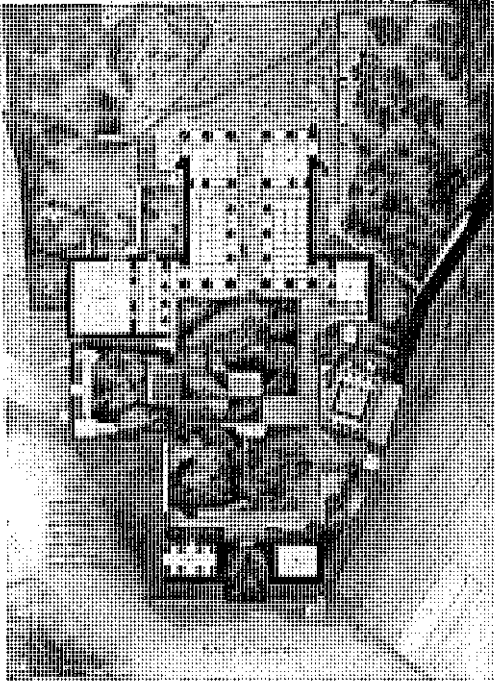


Fig. 70. Plan of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis (L. F. Boitte, 1864)

In 1849 a flight of steps was constructed abutting the northern façade of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike and the foundations of the northern façade of the southern wing of the Propylaea. It connected the Roman steps, which were found in situ under the north corner of the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike, with the crepis in front of the niche between the central building and the southern wing (Figs. 70. 72). This was accomplished with the collaboration of the army, according to a plan made by Desbuisson. Some steps of the Roman staircase, which were found dispersed, were used for the new staircase in which some steps still in situ were incorporated; Pittakis considered it as a partial reconstruction of the Roman staircase, and took into account some traces on the marble foundations of the southern wing, but the French archaeologist E. Beulé criticized the result¹⁰⁶.

Beulé executed extensive excavations in the area to the west of the Propylaea during the years 1852 and 1853. He discovered the primitive steps carved on the natural rock under the northwestern corner of the Temple of Athena Nike, the retaining wall of the archaic ramp, more steps of the monumental Roman staircase which led to the Propylaea, and on its western end, the late-Roman gate which had been buried under the very massive first bastion; this gate became known as 'Beulé Gate'. The greatest mass of the fortifications of the western access of the Acropolis had been removed by this time; only the southern wall, connecting the southwestern corner of the first bastion to the podium of the Temple of Athena Nike, was surviving

¹⁰⁶ Prakt 1849, 30; Beulé, *op. cit.* I 127; Cavvadias—Kawerau 13–14 n. 1.

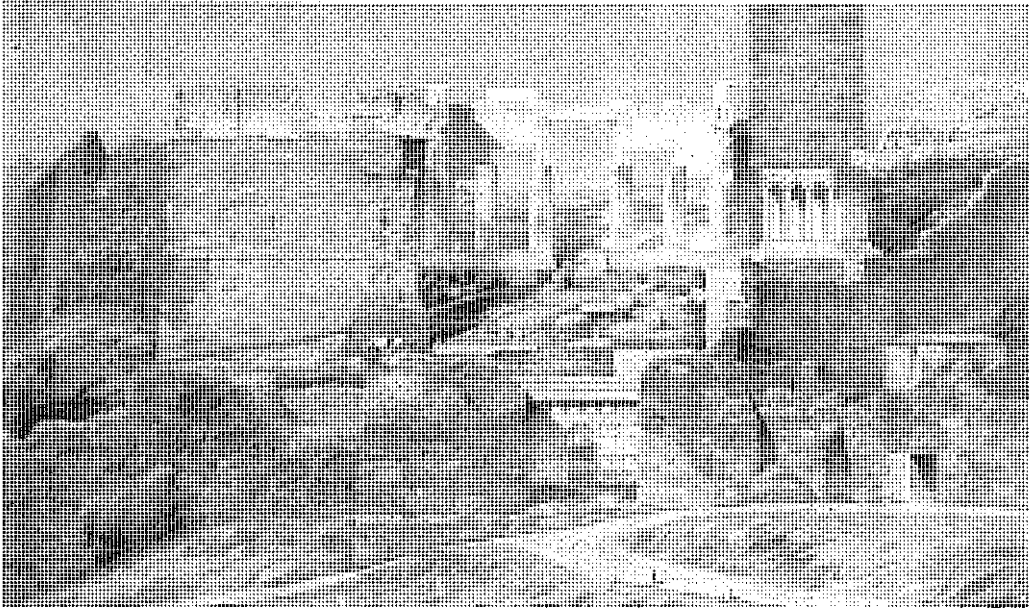


Fig. 71. West elevation of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis (L. F. Boitte, 1864)

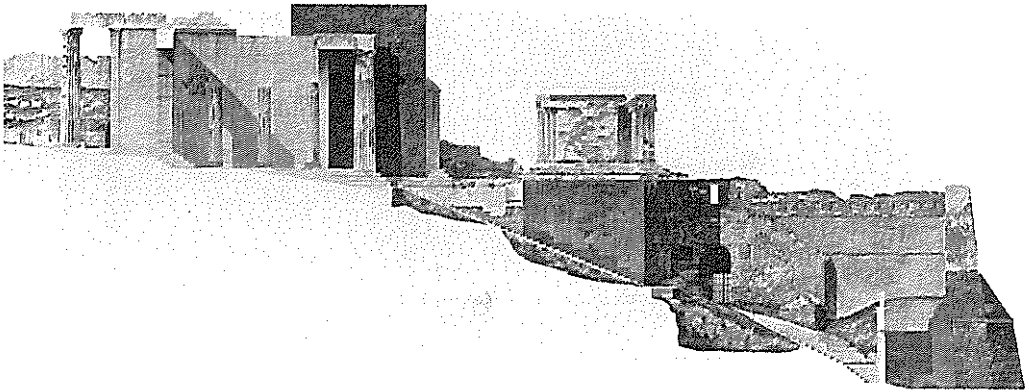


Fig. 72. Central section of the Propylaea and the western access, looking to the south (L. F. Boitte, 1864)

at a considerable height, as we can see in the drawings by D. Lebouteux, drawn just after the end of the excavations¹⁰⁷.

In the year 1854 the podium, on which the northern wing of the Propylaea stood, was repaired by Pittakis¹⁰⁸. In the drawings by Ph. Titeux-Chaudet and P. Desbuisson, made previous to the repairs, we can see that the masonry of this podium was preserved in bad state¹⁰⁹; but in the elevation made by Boitte in 1864

¹⁰⁷ Beulé, *op. cit.* I »Plan général de l'entrée« at the end of the volume.

¹⁰⁸ Cavvadias – Kawerau 13 – 14.

¹⁰⁹ Paris – Rome – Athènes 175 (2 > 27). 191 (4 > 43). See also nts. 101. 105 of the present study.

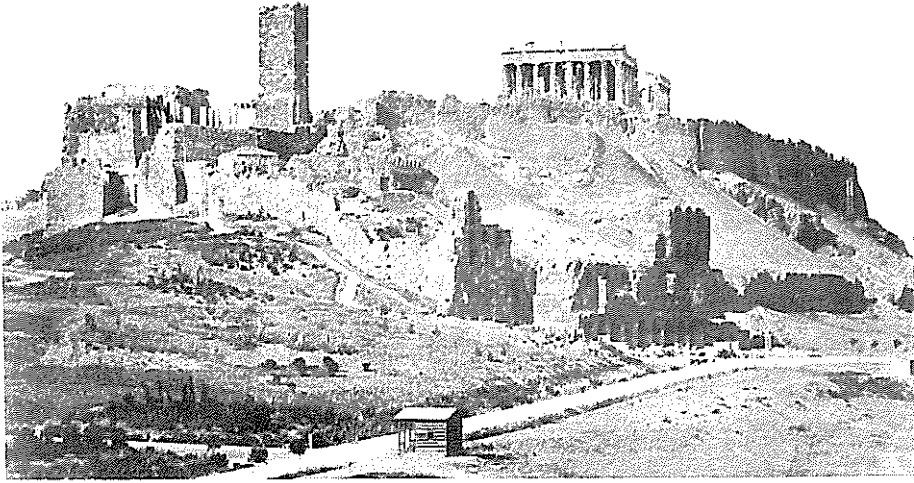


Fig. 73. View of the Acropolis from the southwest (H. Beck, ca. 1864)

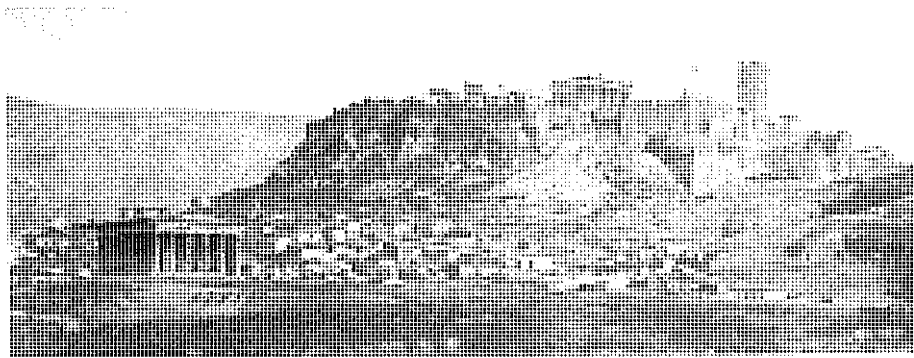


Fig. 74. View of the Acropolis from the northwest (H. Beck, ca. 1864)

the podium is completely restored (Fig. 71). In 1858 Pittakis dug at the northern part of the Acropolis between the Propylaea, the Parthenon and the Erechtheion¹¹⁰. It seems that at that time the greater part of the remains of the later buildings between the central building and the northern wing were taken down, since we see them considerably reduced in Boitte's drawings (Figs. 17. 19. 70).

From 1861 to 1862 any digging activity ceased on the Acropolis. Pittakis was busy storing the ancient marbles in the Propylaea, setting them in frames, or building them without mortar alongside the walls of the Acropolis, a work which he had started already in 1837¹¹¹. In 1864 the French architect L. F. Boitte, holder of a

¹¹⁰ Cavvadias—Kawerau 13—14.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 15—16; Kokkou 166—168. By putting the fragments together, Pittakis attempted to prevent their removal or destruction by ignorant or malicious visitors.

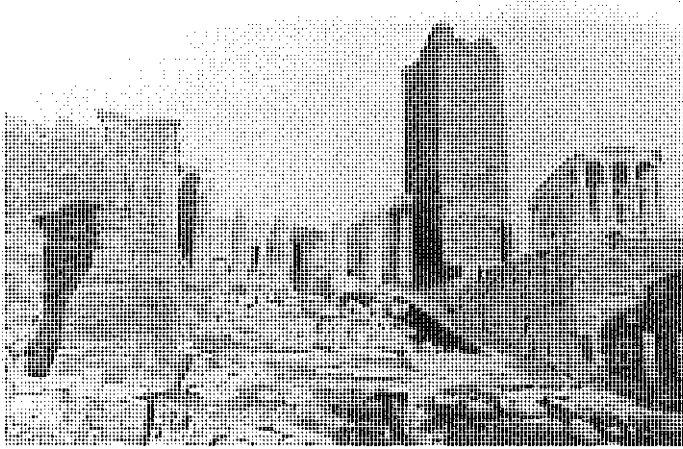


Fig. 75. View of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis before 1874

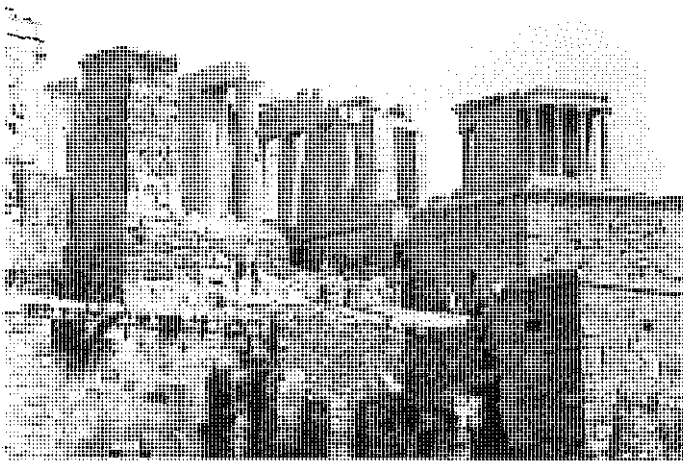


Fig. 76. View of the Propylaea with the western access in our days (1981)

scholarship of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* of Paris, came to Athens and produced very fine measured drawings of the Propylaea and the western access of the Acropolis; his drawings are precious documents because he depicts not only the actual state of the ancient buildings but also the remains of the later constructions as they were at that time¹¹². These drawings, in combination with the photographs by H. Beck, two of which are reproduced in this study (Figs. 74. 75), allow us to obtain a fairly accurate idea of how the Propylaea and the western access

¹¹² L. F. Boitte's drawings are in the Collection of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* of Paris and are published in *Paris—Rome—Athènes* 204—211. See also H. Beck, *Vues d'Athènes et de ses monuments, photographiés d'après nature* (1868).

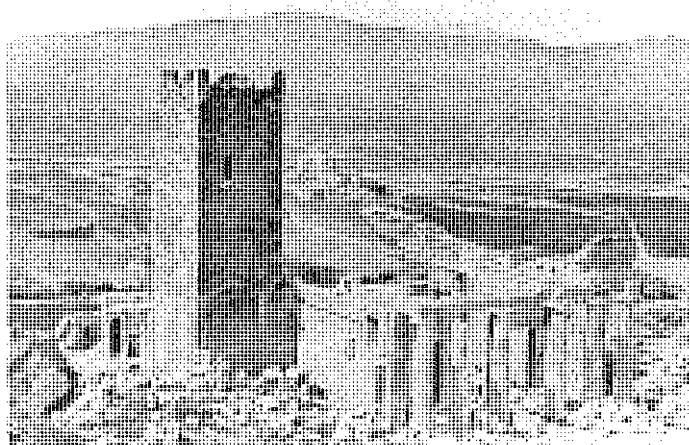


Fig. 77. View of the Propylaea from the western pediment of the Parthenon before the demolition of the Frankish tower in 1874



Fig. 78. View of the southern wing and the southern wall of the central building of the Propylaea (1979)

of the Acropolis looked at that time. The Frankish tower still stood on the southern wing of the Propylaea and was a prominent feature in the outline of the rock, almost a symbol of the recent events of the Acropolis. But a big sum of money offered by the excavator of Troy and Mycenae, the German H. Schliemann, allowed the Archaeological Society to proceed with the tower's demolition, which started in June 1875 and was completed by October of the same year¹¹³. This action provoked some opposition among the antiquaries, some of which expressed the opinion that it should stay in its place as a token of the mediaeval past of the so much celebrated classical precinct. But the supporters of the demolition opposed to these arguments the restoration of the outline of the Acropolis, the liberation of the southern wing of the Propylaea and the recovery of inscriptions and important architectural

¹¹³ Prakt 1876, 23–24; S. A. Koumanoudis, *Ἀθήνηιον* 4, 1875, 195–209; Cavvadias–Kawerau 15–18.



Fig. 79. West elevation of the Acropolis (M. Lambert, 1877)

members of the Propylaea, which were found built in the tower; they also tried to prove that the tower was built by the Turks very recently, which was not difficult because of the lack of knowledge about Athens during the first period of the Turkish occupation¹¹⁴.

In 1877 the French architect M. Lambert worked on the Acropolis; his drawings give us a good idea of the state of the classical buildings and the later additions at that time. We can see the Parthenon dominating, unobstructed by the Frankish tower which had been demolished¹¹⁵; as to the rest of the area of the Propylaea no more changes can be noticed since Boitte's time (1864). But in the following year, the Archaeological Society repaired the two retaining walls of the rectangular area to the north of the pedestal of Agrippa and to the west of the Pinakotheke; the drawings for the restoration were made by the Greek architect L. Kaftantzoglos, who also supervised the works. The bad state of those walls is obvious in the elevations by Boitte and Lambert (Figs. 71. 79); in the restoration the old material which could be used remained in its original place, and new blocks of the same material were cut and put where the ancient masonry was missing¹¹⁶.

The German architect Richard Bohn did some excavations in the Propylaea and in the precinct of the Temple of Athena Nike at the expense of the German

¹¹⁴ See Koumanoudis' article mentioned in the previous note; L. Kaftantzoglos, *Ἀθήναιον* 6, 1877, 287–308; I. Gennadios, *Ὁ Λόρδος Ἐλγιν καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἰδίως ἀρχαιολογήσαντες ἐπιδρομεῖς 1445–1837* (1930) 147–151.

¹¹⁵ M. Lambert also held a scholarship of the *École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts* of Paris, and his drawings belong to the collection of that institution; they are published in Paris–Rome–Athènes 252–257. But Lambert must have used to some extent Boitte's drawings or other older documents, at least for the Propylaea, because in his western elevation of the Acropolis the upper part of the eastern wall of the northern wing retains all its height, with the lintels of the upper openings; but in a photograph previous to the demolition of the tower (Fig. 77) these openings have already lost their lintels.

¹¹⁶ *Prakt* 1879, 19; Cavvadias–Kawerau 17–18.

Archaeological Institute of Athens, in order to define the original plan of the Mnesiclean building and its relation to the latter temple¹¹⁷. In 1884 small diggings were executed to the northeast of the Propylaea by the General Ephor P. Stamatakis¹¹⁸.

By this time several parts of the Acropolis had been excavated and the greater part of the later additions had been removed; but still there was a need for further investigation in order to define the original form of the precinct and its monuments, and the remains of the mediaeval and Turkish constructions still constituted a characteristic element of its general aspect. But this was to change as a result of the great excavations decided by the Archaeological Society in 1885; they were started on 11 November 1885 and completed by February 1890. The Director of these excavations was the General Ephor of Antiquities P. Cavvadias. For the technical works and investigations, and also for the measuring and drawing of the discoveries, the famous German architect W. Dörpfeld was employed; but after a very short time he had to return to Germany and was succeeded by another German architect, G. Kawerau¹¹⁹.

Before the commencement of the excavations it was decided that the digging should reach down to the natural rock and that the revealed rock and the surviving ancient ruins should be drawn and, when necessary, photographed; after that the excavated areas should be refilled with the material originally excavated from that area, so that the ground of the Acropolis would be as it presumably was in the 5th century B. C.; any ancient remains on the rock considered worth seeing, should be enclosed by a retaining wall; all the remains of later buildings on the Acropolis should be removed. The marbles scattered on the Acropolis should be checked, those which were useless buried under the ground, and the useable identified and moved into the monuments to which they belonged.

The excavations started on the area to the northeast of the Propylaea, continued along the northern wall of the Acropolis as far as its eastern end and then along the eastern and southern sides of the Acropolis as far as the Temple of Athena Nike; the excavations continued on the area to the west of the Propylaea and were extended outside the Beulé Gate¹²⁰.

Concerning the Propylaea, the first excavations were executed in 1886 in the area between the central building and the northern wing. The remains of the mediaeval

¹¹⁷ R. Bohn, *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen* (1882); this book, in spite of a few inaccuracies, is a fundamental reference for those who study the Propylaea, basically for the measured drawings of the whole and its architectural elements, on which all the necessary dimensions are inscribed; see also Cavvadias—Kawerau 17—18.

¹¹⁸ Cavvadias—Kawerau 17—18.

¹¹⁹ The account of the excavations by Cavvadias and the drawings and their descriptions by Kawerau are published in their book, already mentioned. Kawerau's original draughts from his papers together with excavation photographs were edited in: J. A. Bundgaard, *The Excavation of the Athenian Acropolis 1882—1890* (1974).

¹²⁰ Cavvadias—Kawerau 18—19. 21—22.

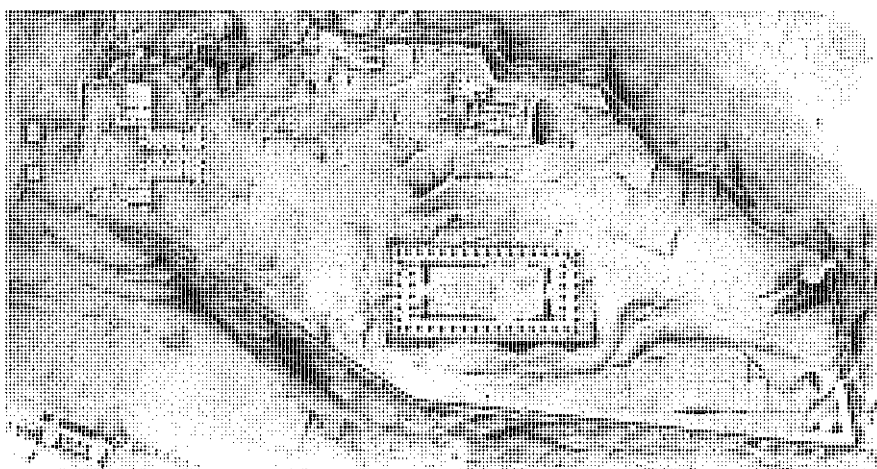


Fig. 80. Plan of the Acropolis (M. Lambert, 1877)

wall above the eastern wall of the northern wing, the remains of the Byzantine church and all the later buildings in contact with the marble walls were removed; the late-Roman cistern was partly demolished but the mortar used during its construction was very strong and the plan of reaching the natural rock under it was abandoned. After the completion of the investigations there, the cistern was filled with fragments from the Propylaea and Byzantine buildings¹²¹. The interior of the Pinakothek was excavated in 1889¹²², at the same time as the area of the Temple of Athena Nike¹²³. In the Propylaea the pavement and parts of the central ramp were cleared, and the antiquities stored there were rearranged. The anta which marks the western end of the crepis of the southern wing was restored with its original pieces which were found during the excavations; and a step of the adjacent small staircase leading on the terrace of the Temple of Athena Nike was put in its original place¹²⁴.

In 1888 the Beulé Gate and the flanking towers were liberated from the last remains of the mediaeval bastion, and buttresses were built to support their walls which were of a precarious stability, particularly at the southern tower¹²⁵. Towards the end of 1889 and the beginning of 1890 digging was extended at the western access of the Acropolis. Since there was not much left to be done after Beulé and Bohn, only small excavations took place.

Thus the excavations on the Acropolis were completed. Since 1890 the general aspect of this precinct has not been changed considerably by the partial restorations of the monuments, but a comparison of the Acropolis, and especially its western access, towards the end of the century and in 1833 is striking. In the same period excavations and demolitions took place also in the areas immediately related to the

¹²¹ Ibid. 31–32. 61–62.

¹²² Ibid. 41–42. 59–60.

¹²³ Ibid. 41–42. 135–140.

¹²⁴ Ibid. 135–136.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 43–44. 127–136.

western access of the Acropolis. We have already seen Pittakis excavating at the southwest slope of the Acropolis in 1834. In 1849 the Archaeological Society excavated the Odeion of Herodes Atticus¹²⁶, and in 1859 it started excavating the Theatre of Dionysus, undertaken over many years¹²⁷. In 1865 excavations started at the Stoa of Eumenes¹²⁸. Thus the whole area enclosed by the wall of Serpentze was excavated and the greater part of the wall itself was demolished¹²⁹. Its last surviving part, the one connecting the Beulé Gate with the western part of the Odeion of Herodes, was demolished in 1888 together with the Tholikon, the battery above it, all the later buildings inside this part of the wall of Serpentze, and also the remaining parts of the fortifications attached to the Beulé Gate¹³⁰.

To the north of the western access the absence of great monuments meant only minor activity. An excavation in the cave of Pan is mentioned in 1843¹³¹. The bastion which had surrounded the fountain Klepsydra in 1822 was excavated by E. Burnouf in 1874¹³² and the walls were demolished during the great excavations in 1888¹³³.

By February 1890 the works on the Acropolis were finished: investigation was completed, the findings had been stored or exhibited in the museum on the Acropolis. This is how Cavvadias closes his account of the excavations: »Greece delivers the Acropolis to the civilized world, decorous monument of the Greek genius, clear of every barbarism, venerable and unique treasury of outstanding works of the antique art, calling all the civilized peoples to the study, collaboration and noble contest for the development of archaeology«¹³⁴.

Postscript

An earthquake in 1893 at Athens caused serious damage to the western portico of the Parthenon. This led the Archaeological Society to the decision to consolidate this part of the building. The Greek engineer N. Balanos was appointed for the execution of this project (1898—1902)¹³⁵. This was followed by the consolidation and partial restoration of the Erechtheion (1902—1909), the Propylaea (1909—1917) and the Parthenon (1922—1933). These works were conceived and executed according to the principle set by the Greek Archaeologist P. Cavvadias and the German architect W. Dörpfeld: this forbade any complete reconstruction based on some parts of the ancient buildings in situ; it accepted only the restoration of authentic parts of the buildings to their original places with the methods of construction appropriate to the monuments; any missing parts, necessary to sustain an important number of

¹²⁶ Prakt 1849, 18.

¹²⁷ Prakt 1859. 1860. 1864. 1866. 1867. 1869. 1876. 1878—1880.

¹²⁸ Prakt 1865. 1870. 1878.

¹²⁹ Prakt 1877—1879.

¹³⁰ Cavvadias—Kawerau 43—44. 133—134.

¹³¹ Prakt 1843, 174.

¹³² Burnouf, *op. cit.* (n. 92) 39.

¹³³ Cavvadias—Kawerau 43—44. 133—134.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 45—46.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 49—50. 53—54.

ancient marbles, were replaced with new material; new pieces of marble were tolerated in order to complete and consolidate the architrave of a colonnade¹³⁶.

At the Propylaea the restoration started from the southeast corner of the eastern portico with the replacement of the drums of the columns and the corresponding anta, which had been moved from their original places without falling down. The capitals of the Doric columns were turned so that their inside faces which were in better condition, were now visible from the outside, and a new capital replaced the one transported to London by Lord Elgin. The architrave, the northern half of the entablature with the corresponding part of the pediment, as well as the northern part of the ceiling of the eastern portico were restored. At the western part of the central building of the Propylaea the extreme eastern column of the northern Ionic colonnade was restored; this supported the part of the roof which was restored at the northeast corner of this part of the building. For the restoration of the ceiling, fragments of the original ceiling were put together; and, because it was very difficult to know the original place of each fragment, pieces of similar design were put together, joined with iron joints and, when necessary, dressed in order to improve the match. For the restoration of the Ionic capital four fragments of different capitals were joined together and again, when necessary, they were dressed to fit each other. Iron joints and concrete were used in several parts of the building during the restoration¹³⁷. Part of the southern wing of the Propylaea was restored only during the years 1958 and 1959, and the foundations of the Pinakothek were stabilized with a construction of reinforced concrete in the early fifties. Also the Temple of Athena Nike was dismantled in 1949 and rebuilt on a new base of reinforced concrete¹³⁸.

The restoration of the monuments of the Acropolis by Balanos reestablished a part of their dignity, but it caused new problems because of the extensive use of iron in several parts of the restored sections. The oxidization and consequent swelling of the iron encased in the marbles, caused crevices to appear in critical parts of the construction. The industrialization of Athens and the increasing pollution of the atmosphere were another reason for deterioration of the monuments during the last two decades, causing the rapid decay on the exposed surface of the marble. In 1975 the danger became obvious enough for the Greek government to form a committee of experts to face the problems of the monuments of the Acropolis. Urgent measures were taken for the buildings and the safety of the visitors; and a group of architects, engineers, archaeologists and scientists of other relevant specializations started studying the monuments in order to propose what should be done for their safety. At the Propylaea in particular, the works started in 1979 with the consolidation of some

¹³⁶ Balanos, *op. cit.* (n. 60) 9–10.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 19–20.

¹³⁸ L. et R. Matton, *op. cit.* (n. 83) 250; A. K. Orlandos, *Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica I* (1961) 97–98: The installation of the concrete floor and its substructure in the Pinakothek is said to have taken place about 1953 under Orlandos' and Stikas' responsibility; no relevant documentation has survived.

parts of the architrave of the eastern portico¹³⁹. Meanwhile the study for the restoration of the whole building has started.

But the problems of the present restoration are outside the limits of this study. What is considered equally or even more interesting and instructive is the reconsideration of the fate of the Propylaea under the important historic changes during the period examined in the previous chapters.

EPILOGUE

At the beginning of the 17th century the general aspect of the Propylaea and the western access to the Acropolis had been greatly changed but the buildings themselves were practically intact. Even if their artistic and historic values were not appreciated by the new occupants, the latter were in a position to profit from the solidity of their construction, which was used as a basis for the necessary additions to adapt them to new uses. They considered only the utilitarian qualities of the building; the magnificent room of the central building was used as an arsenal, because the solid construction of the walls and roof seemed to provide a safe shelter for the gunpowder. The significance of a monument changes over time according to the cultural background; one would assume that by that time the Acropolis could inspire only an extremely naïve awe in the ignorant Turks who looked at them. The Westerners who came to Athens had of course a wider historical perspective but were not much better informed. Most of them name the monuments following the local tradition. Spon was the most knowledgeable of the visitors who came to Athens after the Turkish conquest. He looked at the monuments in the context of ancient writers and accounts by earlier visitors but still his account seems naïve to us. Although his book had a great influence and encouraged a greater appreciation of the monuments of Athens, their modern utilitarian meaning continued to prevail even for the Europeans. Eight years after the publication of Spon's book, although they knew the historic and artistic value of the monuments of the Acropolis, the Venetians did not hesitate to bomb the Propylaea and the Parthenon in order to deprive the Acropolis Turkish defenders of their military resources; the result was serious damage to the Propylaea but even more so to the Parthenon. And although Morosini tried to justify himself for these barbaric activities, we know that the Venetians not only caused further damage trying to remove pieces of sculpture from the Parthenon, but they were also planning to destroy the monuments of the Acropolis, intending to annihilate the defensive value of the rock. The fact that they tried to take with them pieces of the Parthenon sculpture does not mean of course that they wanted to save them from the rage of the Turks and the wars, as is the usual reasoning about Lord Elgin's activities in Athens; the Venetians, as well as Lord Elgin and any other abductor of antiquities, were only conforming with the then more fashionable mania of collecting rare antiquities. Because of their ignorance, the Turks were less

¹³⁹ In charge of this consolidation work were A. Tzakou, architect, and H. Ioannidou, civil engineer.

responsible for the reduction of the already ruined central building of the Propylaea to a battery of cannon, which they needed.

During the 18th century the knowledge and appreciation of the monuments of the Acropolis was greatly increased; antiquarians kept coming from western countries, some out of pure antiquarian interest. But the new knowledge did not reach the Turks who continued reducing the Propylaea, according to their needs. And also this knowledge increased the avidity of some collectors like M. G. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier and Lord Elgin. But most antiquarians who visited Greece returned home with a number of antiquities which could not only enrich their private collections but could also be sold for high prices in the flourishing antiquarian market¹⁴⁰.

The liberation of Greece meant a better future for its antiquities. The first official measures for them were taken immediately after the end of the war in 1828. We have seen earlier that the new period for the Acropolis starts immediately after its evacuation by the Turkish garrison. Could one expect a nation, just liberated from a slavery that lasted four centuries, to respect the reminders of this slavery which enveloped what seemed to be the symbols of his glorious past and of a promising future? In the minutes of the first sessions of the Archaeological Society we can see the fervent veneration of these symbols and the despisement towards the later constructions that altered their form¹⁴¹. But the Greeks were not alone in this way of confronting the remains of antiquity. The Europeans shared the same point of view; we have only to read Beulé's thoughts on the future of the monuments of the Acropolis¹⁴². Also it is significant that the French architects of the *École des Beaux-Arts* made drawings of the Propylaea ignoring the later additions. Boitte was the first to depict the Propylaea with all the remains of later structures, and this fact corresponds with a changing taste in Europe, where, by this time, neo-classicism had given place to various and more picturesque styles.

Having in mind the significance of the Acropolis to the history of human culture, one cannot blame the demolition of the later roughly built masonry, in order to reconstitute as much as possible its original dignity; what one regrets and criticizes is the lack of regular official documentation which would permit the definition of the history of the buildings themselves and of Athens during the obscure long period of the Middle Ages and the Turkish occupation. Even the last excavators of the Acropolis were not particularly concerned with the documentation of what they were demolishing.

These excavations, together with the restoration by Balanos, gave to the Acropolis a classical character, helping the visitor to obtain a fairly clear idea of the original form of the monuments and the Acropolis in its entirety. Balanos' restoration was praised by his contemporaries. During the last years it has been very much criticized for the use of iron dowels, the oxidization of which causes crevices in the ancient

¹⁴⁰ See the already mentioned books by Laborde, Gennadios, Matton, Saint-Clair, Bracken and Kokkou.

¹⁴¹ *Prakt* 1837—1847.

¹⁴² See E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes I* (1853).

marbles; the redressing of authentic pieces in order to produce restorable architectural members, the use of concrete, in short the irreversibility of some of his ways of restoration. But it is certain that in the future the monuments of the Acropolis will have to be restored again and it is also certain that from the technical point of view the future restoration will be much better than the one going on now. Conservation attitudes and techniques change according to the cultural and scientific background of each epoch, and this certainly does not mean that they always become better. One can manage to improve the faults of an imperfect restoration but it seems much more difficult to do the same with the utilitarian needs that again cause damage to the monuments of the Acropolis; the industrial pollution of the atmosphere of Athens threatens to efface their fine qualities and reduce their stability. Financial and political pressures make it almost impossible to apply urgent measures to control pollution. History repeats itself and one cannot know what fate has in stock for the Propylaea and the Acropolis in the future; one would only be satisfied by having seen them and been moved by them, and wish that the time never comes when they become meaningless to the people.

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